

FOIPA COVER SHEET

**FREEDOM OF INFORMATION
AND
PRIVACY ACTS**

SUBJECT: (COINTELPRO)

BLACK EXTREMIST

100-448006

SECTION 23



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

THE BEST COPY
OBTAINABLE IS
INCLUDED IN THE
REPRODUCTION OF
THESE DOCUMENTS.
PAGES INCLUDED THAT
ARE BLURRED, LIGHT, OR
OTHERWISE DIFFICULT
TO READ ARE THE
RESULT OF THE
CONDITION OF THE
ORIGINAL DOCUMENT.
NO BETTER COPY CAN BE
REPRODUCED.

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1-27-71

Airtel

1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

To: SAC, Charlotte (157-6109)

REC-56
From: Director, FBI (100-448006) - 217

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS

ReCEairtel 1-14-71; San Francisco and Bureau
airtels both dated 1-22-71.

The suggestion outlined in Charlotte referenced airtel is believed premature at this time. This is based on the extensive investigation being presently conducted by the Bureau concerning the activities of certain Black Panther Party (BPP) individuals probably related to the underground. The possibility exists, in connection with the investigation of these individuals, that the implementation of Charlotte suggestion may have some adverse effect on our extensive BPP underground investigations. Because of this, Bureau feels no action should be taken at this time.

In the event that future developments in the investigation of the BPP underground present circumstances which warrant implementation of this suggestion, further consideration will be given at that time. Your continued interest in submitting suggestions on captioned matter is appreciated.

1 - San Francisco (157-601)

(6)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

1971
TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

Airtel to SAC, Charlotte

RE: COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS

100-448006

NOTE:

Charlotte suggested that in connection with BPP underground that an individual might be isolated from BPP by fictitious instructions given to individual as if emanating from BPP headquarters in California in connection with the underground. San Francisco advised that suggestion would not have application in San Francisco Division in view of regimentation of BPP members.

FBI

Date: 1/22/71

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIRMAIL - REGISTERED

(Priority)

Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Brennan	CD
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMIST
RM - BPP

Re Charlotte airtel to Bureau, dated 1/14/71.

San Francisco is of the opinion that an attempt by Charlotte to affect suggestion contained in re airtel would pose no hindrance to Bureau's investigative operations, and that the suggestion has some merit in the Charlotte Division where no formal BPP chapter exists, but San Francisco does not think it would have application in the San Francisco Division where the membership is regimented and closely supervised.

With the exception of a very few high placed officials of the BPP, including HUEY NEWTON, DAVID, ROOSEVELT and PAT HILLIARD, the members of the BPP in the San Francisco Division reside in BPP pads, devote their full time to the party and are strictly regimented.

REC-56

100-448006-2175

- ② - Bureau (RM)
3 - Charlotte (157-6109) (RM)
 (1 - 157-6171)
2 - San Francisco

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

ROUTE 1 ENVELOPE

January 22, 1971

7m [Airtel

1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

To: SAC, San Francisco

From: ⁴⁰⁵ Director, FBI (100-448006) - 2174

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS

ReCairtel 1/14/71 captioned "Cointelpro - Black
Extremist, RM - BPP; BPP - Underground, Charlotte Division,
RM."

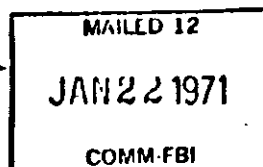
San Francisco promptly submit suggestions and recommen-
dations concerning program outlined in above communication.

Charlotte submit basis for statement that it appears
Black Panther Party rank-and-file have some knowledge of the
underground.

[REDACTED]
(6)

7m NOTE: Charlotte suggests in connection with Black Panther
Party (BPP) underground that an individual might be isolated
from BPP by fictitious instructions given to individual as
if emanating from BPP in connection with underground.
San Francisco being requested to submit comments regarding
same.

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Branson, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Roya _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

9-7 FEB 4 1971

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

4

FBI

Date: 1/14/71

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____

AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6109)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM

COINTELPRO- BLACK EXTREMIST - HATE GROUP

RM - BPP

BUFILE 100-448006

CE File 157-6109

BPP - UNDERGROUND

CHARLOTTE DIVISION

RM

BUFILE 105-165706 Sub 8

CE File 157-6171

The following suggestion is being submitted to the Bureau and San Francisco by the Charlotte Division for development as a possible counterintelligence recommendation. Purpose of the operation is to make the Black Panther Party plans for an underground section work to the Bureau's advantage.

It appears that the rank and file of the Black Panther Party have some knowledge that a BPP underground may exist, however, due to the secrecy involved no one has the full information other than highly placed BPP officials. In view of this the following is submitted for recommendations of Bureau and San Francisco, if deemed feasible.

A carefully chosen member of the BPP, either an extremely dangerous individual or very effective worker will be telephonically contacted by a male voice. This voice could be

- ③ - Bureau (2 - 100-448006)(RM)
(1 - 105-165706 Sub 8)

3 - San Francisco (RM)

4 - Charlotte (2 - 157-6109)

(2 - 157-6171)

100-448006-2174

JAN 20 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 105-165706-8

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE-157-6109

either as agent in another division or a black extremist informant. The BPP member contacted will be advised that he is being selected to go underground and will be directed by the caller, allegedly from national headquarters, in procedures for going underground, part of which will be instructions to slowly drop out of the BPP and melt into the black community telling no one, not even members of his local group of his underground status which he will explain as being dissatisfied with the BPP. The BPP member will be instructed that he will be contacted by the caller and for security reasons he is to advise no one of his exact status but will be furnished instructions at a later date.

After the BPP member has appeared to follow these instructions he will be contacted telephonically again and given an innocuous assignment such as the photographing of some public building and the submission of the undeveloped film or negative to a post office box in another state, preferably San Francisco. At ever increasing intervals the individual will be given additional innocuous tasks until such time that he is completely divorced from the BPP.

It is believed that under certain restricted circumstances it might be possible to direct these individuals to do some work actually beneficial to the Bureau while they consider themselves members of an underground BPP cell.

In any event, if an extremely able and active worker is made inoperative by this method the Bureau should consider it a success noting that it will take very little time or money to effect this operation and the possibility exists it will decrease the investigative time and expense involved in following the activities of an active BPP member.

The Bureau and San Francisco are requested to give this consideration and furnish recommendations in order that it may be more fully developed and either submitted for the Bureau's approval or efforts discontinued, whichever appears to be the logical course of action.

2

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

FBI

Date:

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____

(Priority)

CE 157-6109

Charlotte will await the Bureau and San Francisco's reply before taking further action in this regard and the program will not be initiated until such time as a more detailed recommendation is approved by the Bureau.

3

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JAN 19 1971

TELETYPE

NR009 ME PLAIN

8:55PM NITEL 1-19-71 KER

TO DIRECTOR (100-448006)

FROM MEMPHIS (100-1542)

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Brennan
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Casper
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Walters
Mr. Soyars
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM - BLACK NATIONALIST
COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS, RACIAL MATTERS. HATE GROUP

RE MEMPHIS LETTER TO BUREAU NOVEMBER TWELVE LAST.

MEMPHIS HAS HAD CONSIDERABLE SUCCESS IN LAST WEEK IN
CAPTIONED PROGRAM. PEOPLES REVOLUTIONARY PARTY - NATIONAL COMMITTEE
TO COMBAT FASCISM (PRP - NCCF), BLACK MILITANT PANTHER ORIENTED,
MEMPHIS GROUP ATTEMPTED TO DISRUPT MEMPHIS HOUSING AUTHORITY PROJECT
OVER LAST WEEKEND. BASED PARTIALLY ADVANCE INTELLIGENCE
INFORMATION FURNISHED BY BUREAU SOURCES AND INFORMANTS, MEMPHIS
POLICE OBTAINED WARRANTS CHARGING THIRTEEN MEMBERS OF NCCF WITH
CONSPIRACY TO INTERFERE WITH TRADE AND COMMERCE IN VIOLATION OF
LOCAL PENAL CODE AND TWELVE WERE ARRESTED AROUND MIDNIGHT SUNDAY
NIGHT, AND THE THIRTEENTH TODAY. AT TIME ARRESTS WERE EFFECTED,
TWO NCCF MEMBERS POINTED LOADED SHOTGUNS AT POLICE, BUT THEY WERE
ARRESTED WITHOUT ANY SHOOTING AND CHARGED WITH ASSAULT TO MURDER
A POLICE OFFICER.

JAN 26 1971

INFORMATION FROM TWO OF OUR INFORMANTS IMMEDIATELY RELAYED
TO POLICE DEPARTMENT TO EFFECT THAT NCCF MEMBERS EXPECTED EARLY
END PAGE ONE

"cc to [redacted] / SD
Adm. data deleted"

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

ME 100-1542

PAGE TWO

MORNING ARRESTS AT THEIR TWO INSTALLATIONS AND WERE SANDBAGGING AND OTHERWISE BARRICADING WINDOWS AND DOORS. BASED ON THIS, POLICE EXPEDITED ARRESTS TO AROUND MIDNIGHT, AND FEEL THAT THIS CHANGE IN TIMING ASSISTED IN PREVENTING BLOODSHED AND IN MAKING SUCCESSFUL APPREHENSIONS. BASED ON INDEPENDENT INVESTIGATIONS, THIS OFFICE ARRESTED IN LAST WEEK TWO ADDITIONAL MEMBERS OF THIS SAME NCCF GROUP FOR ^{CRIME ON GOVERNMENT RESERVATION} CGR - LARCENY FIRST DEGREE AND TRESPASS, AT NAVAL AIR STATION MEMPHIS, MILLINGTON, TENN. ALL FIFTEEN ARRESTED HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO MAKE BOND TO DATE. REMAINING FIVE MEMBERS OF MEMPHIS NCCF CHAPTER APPEAR TO BE WITHOUT LEADERSHIP, COMPLETELY CONFUSED AS TO WHAT TO DO NEXT, AND WITH ENOUGH MEMBERS ON HAND TO SELL REMAINING FIFTEEN HUNDRED COPIES OF BLACK PANTHER NEWSPAPER, FOR WHICH THEY OWE NATIONAL EAST COAST MINISTRY. ALSO UNABLE TO OBTAIN ANY GUIDANCE FROM EAST COAST MINISTRY OR FROM THE NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA.

ADDED DETAILS WILL BE INCLUDED IN REGULAR PROGRESS LETTER ON THIS PROGRAM. P.

END.

GMV WASH DC FBI TU CUL

FBI

Date: 1/18/71

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____

AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, CINCINNATI (157-3786) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Bureau airtels, 11/12/70 and 12/28/70,
both captioned as above.

For information of Bureau, Atlanta and
New York, during the latter part of November, December
and January, last contact which was [REDACTED]
who has furnished reliable information in the past,
advised he could furnish no information relative
to the romantic interests and activities of National
SNCC leaders, JAMES FORMAN and PHIL HUTCHINGS.

The source stated he could furnish no
background or other identifying data concerning
[REDACTED] who apparently was romantically associated
with FORMAN for a day or two in Atlanta, Georgia,
around 11/1/70.

- ② - Bureau (RM)
1 - Atlanta (Info.) (RM)
1 - New York (Info.) (RM)
3 - Cincinnati
 (1 - 157-3786)
 (1 - 100-14158) (SNCC) REC-51
 (1 - 170-64A)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING

SLIP(S) OF declassification
DATE 4-2-77 FS0142

ST-100

1 JAN 20 1971

58 FEB 4 - 1971 ICC 1014/D

RACIAL

Approved: _____

DECLASSIFIED BY 6450
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

10

CI-157-3786

[REDACTED]

The source stated only that FORMAN is well known for his inclination toward similar brief associations in whatever city he may visit, and in many instances, FORMAN has no prior acquaintanceship with such female companions.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

This source has been instructed to be alert for any data regarding romantic associations or the suggestion of same on the part of any of the current Black Nationalist leaders, and to promptly furnish same to this Bureau.

If, as a result of the above, Cincinnati should obtain any such information, the Bureau and appropriate Divisions will be promptly advised for purpose of creating "irritant" and "friction situations" among the leaders involved.

Date: 1/14/71

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIR TEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-4054)(P)
RE: COINTELPRO
BLACK NATIONALIST
HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE -
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Re Los Angeles airtel to the Bureau dated 12/3/70 and captioned as above, San Francisco airtel to the Bureau dated 12/14/70, San Francisco letter to the Bureau dated 12/21/70, Bureau airtels to Los Angeles dated 12/15/70 and 12/21/70, and Washington Field airtel to the Bureau dated 12/23/70, all captioned "COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS, RACIAL MATTERS."

For the information of the Bureau, Los Angeles' anonymous letter to ELDRIDGE CLEAVER criticizing HUEY NEWTON was mailed, taking precautions to conceal the identity of the Bureau as the source, on 12/23/70.

As the time factor between the submission and approval of counterintelligence proposals sometimes precludes a timely effort, it is recommended that, to the degree possible, suggestions regarding preplanned BPP activities or conferences, such as the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention, either reach the Bureau in advance of the event or a more expeditious form of communication be utilized. As observed by the Bureau and Washington Field

- ② - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (157-601)(RM)
- 2 - Washington Field (157-1292)(RM)
- 2 - Los Angeles

REC 16

100-448006-2171
SI-114

10 JAN 21 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: 61 FEB 4 1971

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

LA 157-4054

any delayed mass mailing to CLEAVER could have caused suspicion and voided the proposal's intention.

Los Angeles remains of the opinion that the timely use of a proposal directed to CLEAVER as suggested in referenced Los Angeles airtel has merit in view of his distance from BPP activities and his complaints that he does not know what is going on. The BPP hierarchy appears vulnerable to efforts to foment dissension within it, especially through CLEAVER.

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

January 22, 1971

CODE

TELETYPE

URGENT

1
1
1

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

TO SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)

SI-103 REC 18
FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-448006) — 2170

JAN 22 1971

TELETYPE

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS, RACIAL MATTERS.

REBUTEL AND SFTTEL BOTH JANUARY TWENTY ONE LAST.

SAN FRANCISCO IS AUTHORIZED TO CHANGE AND MAIL THE
LETTER TO ELDRIDGE CLEAVER AS PROPOSED IN REFERENCED SAN
FRANCISCO TELETYPE.

INSURE THIS MAILING CANNOT BE TRACED TO THE BUREAU AND
KEEP THE BUREAU ADVISED OF ANY RESULTS THEREFROM.

SAN FRANCISCO WILL ALSO CONSIDER COUNTERINTELLIGENCE
ACTION AGAINST [REDACTED] AT BPP NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
LEVEL AND SUBMIT RECOMMENDATIONS.

(5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

NOTE:

Bureau previously authorized San Francisco to send
letter to Eldridge Cleaver appearing to be from [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] personal secretary to Huey P. Newton. Letter very
critical of Newton and indicates he is influenced by rebels
in BPP. Purpose of letter to cause Cleaver concern over
Newton's leadership of BPP. [REDACTED] close associate of
Cleaver, has been suspended from BPP by Newton, and San Francisco
proposed timely change in letter advising Cleaver of this and also
intimating that [REDACTED] SF BPP member, is a follower of
[REDACTED] who was expelled by Newton in current issue of
BPP newspaper. Authorized letter to Cleaver in Algeria is on
international level, and San Francisco is instructed to make
recommendation for action on local, national headquarters, level.

Tolson
Sullivan
Mohr
Bishop
Herman, C.D.
Callahan
Casper
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Tavel
Walters
Woychik
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

97 JAN 28 1971 TELETYPE UNIT

INITIALS
DIRECTION'S OFFICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JAN 21 1971

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Brennan _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Walters _____
Mr. Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

NR 00 SF CODE

6:46PM URGENT 1/21/71 JAK

TO DIRECTOR(100-448006)

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS, RACIAL MATTERS.

REBUTEL JANUARY TWENTYONE INSTANT AND SFTEL JANUARY

TWENTYONE INSTANT, ENTITLED BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - EXPELLED MEMBERS.

RESFTEL SET FORTH DATA FROM CURRENT BPP NEWSPAPER, DATED JANUARY TWENTYTHREE SEVENTYONE, REGARDING THE EXPULSION BY HUEY NEWTON OF [REDACTED] AND OTHERS WHO WERE ARRESTED WITH HIM IN TEXAS.

AS A RESULT, IT IS FELT THAT THE LETTER PROPOSED BY SAN FRANCISCO SHOULD BE EXTENDED BY ADDING A POSTSCRIPT, SET FORTH BELOW, WHICH WILL ALSO INCORPORATE THE SENTENCE SUGGESTED BY THE BUREAU REGARDING RECENT ACTION BY NEWTON AGAINST [REDACTED]

IF APPROVED BY THE BUREAU, THE LETTER WILL BE DATED JANUARY TWENTYONE SEVENTYONE, AND MAILED JANUARY TWENTYTWO NEXT AT BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA. IT WILL APPEAR, BY USE OF THE POSTSCRIPT, THAT MATTHEWS HAD ALREADY PREPARED, BUT NOT MAILED

END PAGE ONE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

5-2-71

15

PAGE TWO

THE LETTER BEFORE THE ISSUANCE OF THE CURRENT PAPER, AND THEN AMENDED IT WITH THE ADDED POSTSCRIPT TAKING CREDIT FOR NEWTON'S ACTION AGAINST GERONIMO.

THE POSTSCRIPT IS SPECIFICALLY MEANT TO IMPLICATE [REDACTED] AS ONE OF [REDACTED] GROUP WHO STAYED AT [REDACTED] GRANDMOTHERS IN [REDACTED] IF BELIEVED, THIS COULD RESULT IN [REDACTED] EXPULSION FROM THE PARTY.

"P.S. SINCE WRITING THIS LETTER CERTAIN OTHER THINGS HAVE TAKEN PLACE. EVEN I AM ACCUSED OF CAUSING INTERNAL PROBLEMS BECAUSE OF MY EFFORTS TO BRING SOME ORDER TO THE NEWSPAPER, AND I FIND MYSELF NOW EVEN MORE RESTRICTED. IN FACT, I HAVE BEEN SUSPENDED BY THE COMRADE COMMANDER. IN SPIKE OF THIS, YOU WILL NOTE FROM THIS WEEK'S NEWSPATER, THAT AT LAST HIS ^{EYES} HAVE BEEN PARTIALLY OPENED ABOUT "G". I PRIDE MYSELF ON THIS ACTION BY AM QUITE CONCERNED THAT NOTHING HAS BEEN DONE ABOUT THOSE FRIENDS OF "G" WHO CONTINUE TO FUNCTION HERE, EVEN THOUGH A RELATIVE OF ONE OF THEM IN TEXAS ASSISTED "G".

SAN FRANCISCO WILL INSURE MAILING CANNOT BE TRACED TO THE BUREAU

END...

GMV WASH DC FBI TU CUL

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JAN 21 1971

TELETYPE

Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	CD
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

NR 00 SF CODE

6:46P URGENT 1/21/71 JAX

TO DIRECTOR (100-443326)

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS, RACIAL MATTERS.

REBUTEL JANUARY TWENTYONE INSTANT AND SFTEL JANUARY
TWENTYONE INSTANT, ENTITLED BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - EXPELLED
MEMBERS.

RESFTEL SET FORTH DATA FROM CURRENT BPP NEWSPAPER, DATED
JANUARY TWENTYTHREE SEVENTYONE, REGARDING THE EXPULSION BY
HUEY NEWTON OF [REDACTED] AND OTHERS WHO WERE
ARRESTED WITH HIM IN TEXAS.

AS A RESULT, IT IS FELT THAT THE LETTER PROPOSED BY SAN
FRANCISCO SHOULD BE EXTENDED BY ADDING A POSTSCRIPT, SET FORTH
BELOW, WHICH WILL ALSO INCORPORATE THE SENTENCE SUGGESTED BY
THE BUREAU REGARDING RECENT ACTION BY NEWTON AGAINST [REDACTED].

IF APPROVED BY THE BUREAU, THE LETTER WILL BE DATED
JANUARY TWENTYONE SEVENTYONE, AND MAILED JANUARY TWENTYTWO NEXT,
AT BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA. IT WILL APPEAR, BY USE OF THE
POSTSCRIPT, THAT [REDACTED] HAD ALREADY PREPARED, BUT NOT MAILED
END PAGE ONE

SF 157-601

PAGE TWO

THE LETTER BEFORE THE ISSUANCE OF THE CURRENT PAPER, AND THEN AMENDED IT WITH THE ADDED POSTSCRIPT TAKING CREDIT FOR NEWTON'S ACTION AGAINST [REDACTED]

THE POSTSCRIPT IS SPECIFICALLY MEANT TO IMPLICATE [REDACTED] AS ONE OF [REDACTED] GROUP WHO STAYED AT [REDACTED] IF BELIEVED, THIS COULD RESULT IN [REDACTED] EXPULSION FROM THE PARTY.

"P.S. SINCE WRITING THIS LETTER CERTAIN OTHER THINGS HAVE TAKEN PLACE. EVEN I AM ACCUSED OF CAUSING INTERNAL PROBLEMS BECAUSE OF MY EFFORTS TO BRING SOME ORDER TO THE NEWSPAPER, AND I FIND MYSELF NOW EVEN MORE RESTRICTED. IN FACT, I HAVE BEEN SUSPENDED BY THE COMRADE COMMANDER. IN SPITE OF THIS, YOU WILL NOTE FROM THIS WEEK'S NEWSPATER, THAT AT LAST HIS HAVE BEEN PARTIALLY OPENED ABOUT "G". I PRIDE MYSELF ON THIS ACTION BY AM QUITE CONCERNED THAT NOTHING HAS BEEN DONE ABOUT THOSE FRIENDS OF "G" WHO CONTINUE TO FUNCTION HERE, EVEN THOUGH A RELATIVE OF ONE OF THEM IN TEXAS ASSISTED "G".

SAN FRANCISCO WILL INSURE MAILING CANNOT BE TRACED TO THE

BUREAU

END...

GMV WASH DC FBI TU CUL

18

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, PORTLAND (157-347) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RM

DATE: 1/19/71

Re Portland letter to the Bureau, 5/25/70.

**BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT IN
THE PORTLAND FIELD DIVISION;
CHANGES**

The BPP in Portland remains an active group, although there are only eight steady members. A breakfast program is currently underway and a free medical and dental clinic are being operated with BPP participation. The dental clinic closed, but has recently reopened under the name Malcolm-Schuazz Free Dental Clinic.

On 1/15/71, the Portland City Council approved for a thirty-day period the BPP's request for a license to solicit funds to operate BPP programs. This request had come under fire from the Portland PD who contended such a license would be a license to extort. It is anticipated that when the request is reconsidered in thirty days, the City Council will deny the solicitation permit.

The NOI group in Portland is growing and will deserve attention from a counterintelligence standpoint. Specific counterintelligence proposals will be made in regard to this group.

Currently, there is no BPP group operating at Eugene, Oregon.

- 2- Bureau (RM)
1- San Francisco (157-601) (Info) (RM)
2- Portland

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

REC-56

EX-112

100-448006-2169
JAN 25 1971

RACIAL INT. SEC.



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

19

(1) Operations Under Consideration

Portland took no action in regard to counter-intelligence proposals aimed at encouraging union members not to handle shipments of the BPP newspaper as outlined in Bureau airtel to Alexandria, 11/10/70, in that no shipments of the BPP newspaper have been made to Portland since 10/1/70. If shipments are resumed in the future, this counterintelligence move will be undertaken.

There are no other operations now under consideration.

(2) Operations Being Put Into Effect

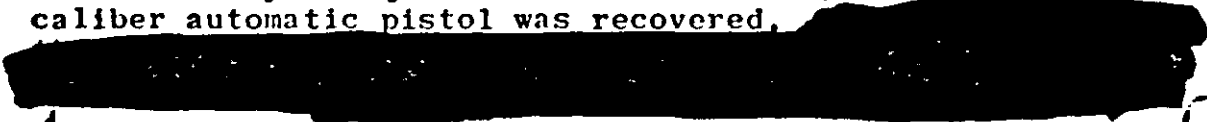
Counterintelligence suggestions by Portland have been made in Portland letters of 5/4/70, 5/25/70 and 10/2/70, one of which was accepted by the Bureau as shown in Bulet to Portland, 6/19/70.

Anonymous mailing of an article in the BPP newspaper issue of 4/11/70 captioned "Four Pigs Were Offed This Week---A Victory for the People" to selected doctors and dentists participating in the BPP-sponsored medical and dental clinics (Bulet to Portland, 6/19/70).

Anonymous mailing of reprint of "New York Times" article captioned "Jews Fear Anti-Zionism of New Left" to selected persons and organizations within the Jewish community (Bureau airtel to Baltimore, 9/9/70).

Anonymous mailing of leaflet "Let's Compare the Ten-Point Program of the Black Panther Party With 'Like It Is,'" to selected individuals in the Negro community (Bulet to New Haven, 9/30/70).

During an FBI and Portland PD raid on White Panther Party headquarters in Portland 12/4/70, a .45 caliber automatic pistol was recovered.



PD 157-347

This information was provided to the Portland PD who determined that the gun, in fact, had been stolen from an automobile in Portland.

The Portland Office suggested to the Portland PD that [REDACTED] be questioned regarding his possession of the stolen gun and his having turned it over to [REDACTED] of the WPP. [REDACTED] was questioned by detectives of the Portland PD who told him that members of the WPP said [REDACTED] had given the gun to [REDACTED] shortly before the police action on 12/4/70. [REDACTED] vigorously denied any knowledge of this gun and claimed to not know any member of the WPP.

[REDACTED] has advised that members of the WPP were irate at [REDACTED] for having given them a stolen gun which caused them additional problems with the Portland PD. [REDACTED] was obviously upset because the WPP informed on him. This incident has caused a split between the WPP and the BPP, there having been previously a mutual defense pact between the two groups.

(3) Tangible Results of Counterintelligence

There is no specific information to report. The closing of the BPP-sponsored dental clinic, which remained closed until recently, could have been partly as a result of a counterintelligence operation; however, Portland is not in a position to know if this had a direct effect on the program.

(4) Developments of Counterintelligence Interest

No additional pertinent information to report.

ROUTED TO TELETYPE UNIT

January 22, 1971

Airtel

1 - [REDACTED]

To: SAC, Charlotte (157-6109)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) 2/16/8

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS

ReCairtel 1/14/71.

You are authorized to prepare and mail anonymous letter set forth in referenced airtel. Insure this mailing cannot be traced to the Bureau. Advise Bureau and interested offices of positive results achieved.

1 - San Francisco

(5)

MAILED 2

COMM-FBI

NOTE: Charlotte has been aggressive in this program to disrupt the Black Panther Party (BPP) in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. A BPP member had in his possession a "list of people to get in contact with for breakfast funds." Charlotte has obtained a copy of this list. The anonymous letter to be sent to those individuals on the "list" points out that contributions made to BPP would be better spent by donations to worthy black people in view that funds given BPP are not used for black community. Charlotte will make mailing of 121 anonymous letters under usual precautions in an effort to create additional opposition to the Panthers in Winston-Salem.

Tolson
Sullivan
Mohr
Bishop
Brennan, C.D.
Callahan
Casper
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Tavel
Walters
Soyars
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

67 FEB 11 1971

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐ OTHERWISE.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

F B I

Date: 1/14/73

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6109) (P)APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF _____
DATE _____COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RM (BPP)

It is noted that in the past, Charlotte has distributed mailings under the caption "COMMITTEE OF 25" and "SVRP" which have attacked the financial structure of the Black Panther Party in Winston-Salem, N. C.

On 12/18/70, [REDACTED], whose identity must be protected, furnished a typed list of over 125 Winston-Salem businesses, which is captioned "List of People to Get in Contact With for Breakfast Funds," which list was apparently [REDACTED] by an unidentified member of the Black Panther Party. In order to take advantage of this windfall, Charlotte desires to prepare an anonymous mailing to each of these businesses or, in the case of chain stores, to their district offices or higher headquarters. It is hoped that this mailing will give the appearance that the individual will not remain anonymous in connection with his BPP donations; however, noting that not all the businesses on the list may have donated funds, Charlotte desires to use the following wording:

"It has come to our attention that you have been considered as a source of contributions to the Black Panther Party and may have even made donations of money, food or services available to this group, which is considered by the black community of Winston-Salem to be, to use their terms, [REDACTED]"

2 Bureau (RM)

2 Charlotte

JAN 23 1973

(4)

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in ChargeDECLASSIFIED BY 6880
ON 11/21/77

23

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6109 [REDACTED]

'avaricious individuals preying on the black community.' If you feel that you should donate money or services to uplift the black people of Winston-Salem, it is hoped that you will donate this to needy individuals or groups and not to the Black Panther Party since they are using your money and goods for their own benefit and not that of the black community."

The above will be prepared on unwatermarked paper and mailed in plain envelopes with no return address. It is hoped that by bringing to the attention of these businesses the above information that this will end their possible contributions to the Black Panther Party. It will also indicate to them that their contributions have not gone unnoticed, and the possibility exists that employees may be pilfering items for donations to the Black Panther Party, not known to the higher-ups who would receive the company mail. Therefore, questions might be asked of the lower level employee.

Charlotte does not desire to make this a part of any of its continuing counterintelligence programs, such as the "Committee of 25" or the "SVRP"; however, success of this program might indicate a need for similar action attributable to one of these groups.

Charlotte will await Bureau's approval prior to taking further action concerning captioned matter.

- 2 -

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

24

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

1/21/71

JAN 21 1971

5:17 PM P/S
TELETYPE

CODE

TELETYPE

NITEL

1 -
1 -
1 -

TO SAC SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)
FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-448006)

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS, RACIAL MATTERS

COUNTRINTELLIGENCE / DISSEMINATION GROUP

RESFTEL JANUARY EIGHTEEN LAST, BUAIRTEL TO SAN FRANCISCO

JANUARY TWENTY LAST AND SFTTEL JANUARY TWENTY LAST CAPTIONED
"BLACK PANTHER PARTY - DISCIPLINARY ACTION, RM."

FIRST REFERENCE SUBMITTED PROPOSED LETTER TO ELDRIDGE
CLEAVER IN ALGERIA WHICH WOULD APPEAR TO BE FROM [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] SECOND REFERENCE AUTHORIZED THIS MAILING. IN VIEW
OF INFORMATION IN THIRD REFERENCE CONCERNING MATTHEWS' SUSPEN-
SION FROM BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) AND ALSO SINCE HUEY P.
NEWTON AND [REDACTED] MAY NOT DEPART ON SPEAKING TOUR AS PLANNED,
IT APPEARS IMMEDIATE MAILING OF THIS LETTER WOULD BE EXPEDIENT.

HOWEVER, BUREAU SUGGESTS THE FOLLOWING INSERTION AS SENTENCE
SIX OF PARAGRAPH TWO. "EVEN I AM ACCUSED OF CAUSING INTERNAL
PROBLEMS BECAUSE OF MY EFFORTS TO BRING SOME ORDER TO THE
NEWSPAPER, AND I FIND MYSELF NOW EVEN MORE RESTRICTED."

(5)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

Tolson
Callahan
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Tavel
Walters
Soyars
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

97 JAN 23 1971

RECEIVED
DIRECTOR'S OFFICE

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

REC 19

100-448006-2167

EX-111

19 JAN 22 1971

LA
B25
r

TELETYPE TO SAN FRANCISCO
RE: COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
100-448006

SAN FRANCISCO IS AUTHORIZED TO IMMEDIATELY SEND THE
PROPOSED LETTER WITH THE ABOVE CHANGE. IF SAN FRANCISCO
PROPOSES ADDITIONAL CHANGES, SUBMIT TEXT OF AMENDED LETTER
FOR BUREAU APPROVAL.

INSURE MAILING CANNOT BE TRACED TO THE BUREAU.

NOTE:

Bureau previously authorized San Francisco to send
letter to Eldridge Cleaver appearing to be from [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Huey P. Newton. Letter very
critical of Newton and indicates he is influenced by rebels
in BPP. Purpose of letter to cause Cleaver concern over
Newton's leadership of BPP. In view of [REDACTED] suspension
from BPP, we must now seize the time to make the most of the
situation and San Francisco is instructed to immediately
make necessary changes and send the letter.

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1/20/71

Airtel

To: SAC, San Francisco (157-801)

From: Director, FBI (100-448005)

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS

ReSftel 1/18/71 submitting proposed letter for mailing to Eldridge Cleaver, Black Panther Party (BPP) Minister of Information in exile in Algeria, to be signed with the letter "C."

You are authorized to send the proposed letter to Cleaver as submitted to the Bureau, and it is agreed that the date of mailing should be such that receipt of the letter by Cleaver will coincide with departure of Huey P. Newton and [REDACTED] from BPP National Headquarters on the speaking tour.

You must insure that this mailing cannot be traced to the Bureau, and San Francisco will advise the Bureau of any results from this counterintelligence activity.

Your interest in this very important program as evidenced by your recent quality proposals and suggestions is appreciated by the Bureau.

(6)

NOTE:

The San Francisco proposed letter is written in language and tone of [REDACTED] former close associate of Cleaver in Algeria who is now [REDACTED] Huey P. Newton, BPP Supreme Commander. Purpose of the letter is to cause Cleaver further concern over Newton's leadership of BPP and to indicate that friends of Donald Lee Cox, BPP Field Marshall and associate of Cleaver in Algeria, are suspected of disloyalty, thereby fomenting factionalism between Cleaver's BPP International Section and BPP National Headquarters.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

97 JAN 22 1971

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Tolson
Sullivan
Mohr
Bishop
Brennan, C.D.
Callahan
Casper
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Tavel
Walters
Soyars
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NR 004 SF CODE

5:19PM NITEL 1/18/71 MAH

TO: DIRECTOR (100-448006)

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-601) 4P

JAN 18 1971

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS, RM.

BUREAU APPROVAL REQUESTED FOR SAN FRANCISCO TO MAIL THE LETTER SET OUT BELOW TO ELDREDGE CLEAVER IN ALGIERS. THIS MAILING SHOULD TAKE PLACE ABOUT JANUARY TWENTY-SIX NEXT, WHICH IS THE DATE HUEY NEWTON AND [REDACTED] TENTATIVELY HAVE SET FOR THE BEGINNING OF A SPEAKING TOUR. THUS, THESE PERSONS WILL NOT BE AVAILABLE FOR SOMETIME AFTER CLEAVER RECEIVES THE LETTER. IT WILL BE RECALLED THAT CLEAVER IN THE PAST ACCEPTED AS BONAFIDE A LETTER CONTAINING WHAT CLEAVER CONSIDERED "GOOD INFORMATION" ABOUT THE PARTY. THIS LETTER WOULD BE TYPED AND MAILED FROM THE EAST BAY. ALTHOUGH NOT SIGNED THE LETTER IS INITIALED "C". THE LANGUAGE AND TONE USED IS THAT OF [REDACTED] THE PURPOSE OF THE LETTER IS TO CAUSE TURMOIL AMONG THE TOP ECHELON, TO GIVE CONCERN TO CLEAVER, AND TO HIS AIDE DON COX, WHOSE TWO FRIENDS, NOT NAMED, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ARE FINGERED AS THE DISLOYAL BROTHERS AT HEADQUARTERS. JAN 21 1971

IT IS POSSIBLE THAT CLEAVER IS ALREADY WORRIED OVER NEWTON'S PERFORMANCE AND THIS LETTER MIGHT CONFIRM HIS THOUGHTS ON THE SUBJECT.

END PAGE ONE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

300
28

PAGE TWO

SF 157-501

OTHERWISE THERE IS NO PREDICTION POSSIBLE AS TO WHAT EFFECT THIS LETTER MIGHT HAVE.

ELDRIDGE, "I KNOW YOU HAVE NOT BEEN TOLD WHAT HAS BEEN HAPPENING LATELY. IT IS A SHAME THAT A PERSON, AS WELL-PLACED AS I AM AND SO DESIROUS OF IMPROVING OUR PARTY, CANNOT BY PRESENT RULES TRAVEL TO YOU OR COMMUNICATE WITH YOU. I REALLY DON'T KNOW WHERE YOU STAND IN RELATIONSHIP TO OUR LEADERS AND REALLY I AM NOT CONFIDENT THAT YOU WOULD PROTECT ME IN THE EVENT OF EXPOSURE. SINCE THIS IS MY LIFE-WORK, JUST LET ME SAY I HAVE WORKED LONG AND WELL IN YOUR BEHALF IN THE PAST, AND FOR THE PARTY IN MANY PLACES ON PLANET EARTH.

"THINGS AROUND HEADQUARTERS ARE DREADFULLY DISORGANIZED WITH THE COMRADE COMMANDER NOT MAKING PROPER DECISIONS. THE
END PAGE TWO

29

PAGE THREE

NEWSPAPER IS IN A SHAMBLES. NO ONE KNOWS WHO IS IN CHARGE. THE FOREIGN DEPARTMENT GETS NO SUPPORT. BROTHERS AND SISTERS ARE ACCUSED OF ALL SORTS OF THINGS. THE POINT OF ALL THIS IS TO SAY I FEAR THERE IS REBELLION WORKING JUST BENEATH THE SURFACE. YOU MAY KNOW THE STORY ABOUT "G" AND HIS GANG. I BELIEVE THAT PEOPLE LIKE "G" HAVE MANY SYMPATHIZERS WHO ARE NOT YET UNDER SUSPICION BUT WHO SHOULD BE. THEY HAVE FRIENDS RIGHT IN HEADQUARTERS WHERE THE MINISTER CHOOSES TO IGNORE THEM.

"I AM DISTURBED BECAUSE I, MYSELF, DO NOT KNOW WHICH WAY TO TURN. WHILE I THINK THE COMRADE COMMANDER IS WEAK, YET I DO NOT LIKE THE EVIDENCES OF DISLOYALTY I SEE. I MAY BE WRONG BUT I THINK THE CORE OF THE DISLOYALTY (MAYBE YOU MIGHT THINK WHAT I CONSIDER DISLOYALTY IS ACTUALLY SUPREME LOYALTY TO-THE IDEALS OF THE PARTY RATHER THAN TO THE LEADER HIMSELF) IS WITH PERSONS FORMERLY CLOSE TO THE FIELD MARSHALL. IF ONLY YOU WERE HERE TO INJECT SOME STRENGTH INTO THE MOVEMENT, OR TO GIVE SOME ADVICE. ONE OF TWO STEPS MUST BE TAKEN SOON AND

END PAGE THREE

30

PAGE FOUR

BOTH ARE DRASTIC. WE MUST EITHER GET RID OF THE SUPREME COMMANDER OR GET RID OF THE DISLOYAL MEMBERS. I KNOW THE BROTHERS MEAN WELL BUT I FEAR THE ONLY SENSIBLE COURSE THAT THE PARTY CAN TAKE IS TO INITIATE STRONG AND COMPLETE ACTION AGAINST REBELS, EXPOSING THEIR UNDERHANDED TRICKS TO THE COMMUNITIES. HUEY IS REALLY ALL WE HAVE RIGHT NOW AND WE CAN'T LET HIM DOWN, REGARDLESS OF HOW POORLY HE IS ACTING, UNLESS YOU FEEL OTHERWISE. REMEMBER HE IS STILL ABLE TO BRING IN THE BREAD.

"COMRADE C."

END

31

1/8/71

rtel

To: SAC, WFO (157-1292)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006)

COINTELPRO
BLACK EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS

Classified by 5678 on 12/5/74

Exempt from GDS, Category 2

Date of Review Indefinite

Information contained in the enclosed appears to represent an excellent vehicle on which to base an effective counterintelligence proposal concerning Carmichael.

WFO is instructed to give this matter careful consideration and to submit an appropriate recommendation in that regard.

WFO should take no positive action with respect to such a counterintelligence measure without specific Bureau authority.

Enclosures - 2

- 1 - New York (Enclosure)
- 1 - San Francisco (Enclosure)

3 JAN 20 1971

Tolson
Callahan
Mohr
Bishop
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Walters
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

(10)

MAILED 3

JAN 1971

COMM-FBI

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

97 JAN 22 1971

MAIL ROOM [] TELETYPE UNIT []

Airtel to Atlanta, Et Al
Re: COINTELPRO - Black Extremists
100-448006

Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Detroit, and New York will each prepare a proposed letter to Eldridge Cleaver signed by a fictitious member of an organization that attended the RPCC; and submit these letters to the Bureau for approval. Second reference contains a list of the organizations that were represented at RPCC.

The observations by WFO concerning this program and the suggested campaign to promote the feeling that the BPP has betrayed the black people are appreciated and appear to be very timely. WFO will submit material in this regard for approval.

First reference contains additional Bureau instructions and is for the information and assistance of Atlanta.

NOTE:

Los Angeles suggested fictitious letters to Eldridge Cleaver from organizations attending Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention criticizing BPP Commander, Huey P. Newton, for his inept handling of the function. WFO submitted list of organizations that were represented at RPCC and this communication is to instruct appropriate offices to prepare the fictitious letters for Bureau approval. Purpose of this program is to provoke Cleaver into questioning Newton's leadership.

F B I

Date: 12/23/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Brennan CD _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Walters _____
Mr. Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, WFO (157-1292) (P*)

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS

ReBuairtel dated 12/15/70.

WFO agrees that the suggestion of the Los Angeles Office, as outlined in the enclosure to referenced airtel, has some merit. WFO also agrees with the observation of the Bureau that a flood of mail, at this time, would cause ELDRIDGE CLEAVER to suspect the authenticity of the letters.

In this connection, WFO makes the following observations concerning the Los Angeles suggestion:

1) If the suggestion is to have any hope of success, the agents writing the fictitious letters from the organizations listed below must not only be able to write in the style of the New Left, but should review the file, in their office, on the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention (RPCC), or informant's reports, for a specific event, statement by a BPP leader or news item, which points up a deficiency in BPP leadership, in order to lend authenticity to the complaint

- ② - Bureau
2 - Los Angeles (157-4054) (Info) (RM) (AM)
2 - San Francisco (157-601) (Info) (RM) (AM)
1 - WFO

Approved: G. J. W. / J. L.
Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

Per _____

35

rather than writing a letter which, in general terms, is critical of lack of leadership. Newspaper articles concerning the RPCC are a good source for many of the major foul-ups as well as specific statements by BPP leaders.

2) Each office in whose territory one of the below named organizations is headquartered should submit a letter from a fictitious member of that organization.

3) The Bureau should select the best written of these letters for subsequent mailing to CLEAVER.

The Bureau may also wish to consider the fact that many black people and organizations which are totally black oriented have been very critical of the BPP because of the large number of white people who attended the RPCC.

It appears to WFO that the feeling of betrayal expressed by many black people and organizations active in the movement as regards the BPP policy of accepting white support, can very well be exploited by "letters to the editor" from such organizations as well as letters from fictitious writers to organizations known to espouse the philosophy of "Black" only, pointing out this "weakness" in the BPP and portraying it as a betrayal of black people.

Such a campaign might well, in the long run, prove to be more successful than targeting letters to one individual, who because of his proven native intelligence, may recognize what is happening and discount the letters if too many are received.

In the past, those black organizations which have failed, have failed because they did not recognize or properly interpret the changing mood of black people. A good example of this is SNCC, an organization which did not perceive the changing attitude of young blacks to a more militant stand and more militant language until too late and consequently lost its power base to more militant groups.

WFO 157-1292

It would now appear that although the BPP capitalized on SNCC's blunder, it did not profit from this lesson, but, in fact, is now duplicating SNCC's error of judgement in not properly analyzing the attitude of black people which, at this time, appears to be moving more and more strongly toward the position of "black organizations for blacks and run by blacks only". WFO would welcome the comments of the Bureau on such a course of action against the BPP and is prepared to submit material in this regard should the Bureau so desire.

The following organizations took part in the RPCC in WDC:

<u>Organization</u>	<u>Office of Origin</u>
Youth Against War and Facism	New York
Young Student Alliance	New York
Young Lords	Chicago
White Panthers	Detroit
SDS - Worker Student Alliance	Boston
Youth International Party	New York
Gay Liberation	New York
Women's Liberation Front	New York
Communist Party	New York
Georgia Black Liberation Front	Atlanta

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, SEATTLE (157-721) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS

DATE: 1/15/71

Re Seattle letter to Director, 12/15/70; and Bureau airtel to Alexandria, 11/10/70, entitled "Counterintelligence Measures, Black Panther Party, Racial Matters."

I. OPERATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

None

II. OPERATIONS BEING EFFECTED

In accordance with instructions as provided in above referenced airtel, the Seattle Division on December 28, 1970, mailed to various individuals in the Seattle Metropolitan Area having interest in the air shipments of the Black Panther Party newspaper, copies of the RIESEL article.

III. TANGIBLE RESULTS

None known to date.

IV. DEVELOPMENTS OF COUNTERINTELLIGENCE INTEREST

None

The next monthly letter will be submitted by February 15, 1971.

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Seattle

EX-112

REC-32

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

12 JAN 20 1971

58 JAN 25 1971



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

38

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO

Airtel to Los Angeles et al
Re: COINTELPRO - Black Extremists
100-448006

NOTE CONTINUED:

be from a black Howard University student who is very critical of BPP leadership for the failure of the Convention and accuses the BPP of betraying black people to the "white honkey." Letter urges recipients to laugh BPP out of existence.

FBI

Date: 1/11/71

Transmit the following in _____

Via AIRTEL

(Type in plaintext or code)

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, WFO (157-1292) (P*)

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS

RACIAL MATTERS

ReWFOairtel 12/23/70 and Buairtel 12/31/70.

Enclosed for the Bureau, LA and SF Offices is one copy of a letter prepared by WFO in accordance with instructions in referenced Buairtel.

If accepted by the Bureau, WFO proposes to send a copy of this letter to approximately 50 colleges and universities having Black Student organizations in the far Western region of the United States. The very common name [REDACTED] has been signed to this letter for the following reasons:

1. Howard University has 114 students currently enrolled named [REDACTED]
2. Four of these students are named [REDACTED]

2 - Bureau (Enc. 1)

1 - Los Angeles (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM) (AM)

1 - San Francisco (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM) (AM)

1 - WFO

AIRTEL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

REC-39

71.111

(INSD)

ED

JAN 12 1971

Approved: [Signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

FBI INT. SECT.

WFO is of the opinion that students in the far western region of the U.S. will be far less likely to attempt to verify the letter by phone; further, with individuals named [REDACTED] enrolled at Howard, if all were contacted and denied sending the letter, the assumption would immediately arise that one of these students did in fact write the letter and was now afraid to admit it.

WFO is of the opinion that a letter of a similar nature should be prepared by Los Angeles or San Francisco and sent to Eastern colleges and universities. WFO is of the opinion that letters of a similar nature could easily be prepared and sent to black organizations which are known to have a white hate or anti-white philosophy and will submit such a letter in the very near future to the Bureau for approval.

WFO cautions, however, against other offices using such letters in near verbatim form. To be effective, each letter must be original and worded to suit the particular organization to which it is being sent.

Washington, D.C.
January 11, 1971

Black Student Unions
American Colleges & Universities

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

For the past year, although a member of a black militant organization not affiliated with the BPP, I have bought the Panther newspaper. I believed what I read and because I was fool enough to believe I took part in the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention.

Brothers and Sisters, I say right now that all this crap about "Seize the Times", "All Power to the People" and "Right On", spouted by the Panthers, is just that; pure unadulterated crap.

There I stood in the middle of the street in front of an Episcopal Church run by a white Honkey, not even able to get into hear Huey Newton speak and straining my ears to pick up every other word from a loud speaker that would not work, while a bunch of honkies sat their big fat white ~~asses~~ in soft seats and listened in comfort.

But what really got ^{ME} ~~me~~ up tight was the crowd I was forced to stand with. Fully 60% of those present were dirty, foul smelling honkies who spent half of their time trying to make out with the black sisters and the other half trying to stir the crowd up to come down on Howard University, a Black school, because they claimed Howard refused to allow the use of school facilities. Howard University offered full use of all facilities, but after first agreeing to pay slightly in excess of \$7,000 to use school property, the fools then demanded to take over Howard and pay nothing.

1 1 12/11 43

It has become clear to me, after seeing the situation at the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention, that the Panther Party is not in the vanguard of the Blackman's revolution. The Panthers have sold out Black people for the sake of their own egotism and white liberal money.

They proved to all true Black men present that the Panther Party couldn't organize a crap game in the middle of the ghetto much less a revolution. How can a Black man relate to anything when he is surrounded by a wild eyed bunch of honkey queers and bearded goats trying to make out with the black sisters?

No real black revolutionary organization would place a sister in such a position and no black man should allow such a situation to pass unchallenged. After thinking the matter over, I decided Black college students must know the truth; the Black Panther Party has betrayed Black brothers and sisters everywhere to the honkey.

I am sending this letter to the Black Student Unions of as many black colleges and universities as I can (about 50.....postage costs money), with the request you in turn forward a copy of my letter to at least two other colleges or universities having Black Student Unions or Black Organizations in your State.

Brothers and Sisters---Black Is Beautiful.....

Black Organizations are Beautiful Organizations and Black People must relate to each other if our just cause is to succeed.

Just as our mothers and fathers use to laugh at "Mr. Charlie" when we exposed him, so should black students everywhere expose the Black Panther Party and laugh these fools out of existence.


Howard University

4/11

FBI

Date: 1/4/71

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____

(Priority)

Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Brennan	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Evans	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Walters	
Mr. Soyars	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, WFO (157-1292) (P)

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Bureau airtel dated 12/3/70, WFO airtel to Bureau, 12/23/70.

Review of informant reports furnished to WFO by various sources during the coverage of the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention (RPCC) reveal numerous observations by these sources regarding the disunity and disorganization that prevailed throughout the weekend. None of the reports received during the RPCC weekend singled out any particular group or individual being held guilty of misfeasance or malfeasance, but indicated general complaints regarding lack of facilities and an organized program for the proceedings.

As the Bureau is aware, [redacted] reported [redacted] former Area Captain of the BPP, WDC Chapter, received discipline, and was replaced as BPP, WDC Chapter leader as a result of the RPCC failure. In addition, the above source reported information to indicate [redacted] Deputy Minister of Information, and Field Marshal [redacted] were recalled to San Francisco and relieved of their duties in view of their handling of the organization of the RPCC.

3 - Bureau
1 - WFO

REC-69

JAN 19 1971

54 JAN 22 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

M

Per _____

WFO 157-1292

The above source further reported BPP National Headquarters was displeased with [REDACTED] who had been designated the National Co-ordinator for the RPCC; that she had returned to the Boston area, and was last known to be awaiting further orders from National Headquarters, it being learned from above source that she felt she was to be ordered to report to the West Coast.

Debriefing of WFO sources attending the RPCC substantiate the above information concerning internal reaction by the BPP over the failure of the RPCC. In addition, WFO sources were of the opinion that the general feelings of the white groups in attendance was it was not truly a "Revolutionary People's" Convention, but strictly a Panther affair. This observation was based on the overhearing of remarks made by certain individuals in attendance, with no reports, however, attributing this feeling to spokesman or leaders of white groups.

Referenced WFO airtel contained observations made by WFO based on an analysis of these informant reports, with regard to the submission of fictitious letters from New Left organizations.

RECEIVED ENVELOPE

1/14/71

Airtel

To: SACs, San Francisco (157-601)
Baltimore
Boston
Chicago
Indianapolis
Los Angeles
New Haven
New York
Philadelphia
WFO

REC-69

EX-111

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) —

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS

MAILED 7

RcSFairtel 1/4/71.

San Francisco is authorized to send the anonymous letter from Oakland, California, as proposed in referenced airtel to the suggested addressees. The Bureau feels Boston should also be included as an addressee since [REDACTED] of that Black Panther Party chapter, has also been criticized by Black Panther Party National Headquarters in connection with the failure of the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention.

San Francisco will insure that these mailings cannot be traced to the Bureau.

Recipients will be alert for any results of this counterintelligence activity and will keep the Bureau and San Francisco advised.

NOTE:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

Continuing internal criticism and disciplining

97 JAN 26 1971

CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Tolson
Sullivan
Mohr
Bishop
Bronson
Callahan
Casper
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Tavel
Walters
Soyars
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

Airtel to San Francisco, et al.
Re: - Cointelpro - Black Extremists
100-448006

NOTE: (Continued)

of some National BPP functionaries have resulted from the failure of the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention, Washington, D.C., 11/17-19/70. Anonymous letter authorized for mailing by San Francisco is designed to throw suspicion of authorship of BPP functionaries and to further aggravate the internal dissension among BPP leadership.

FBI

Date: 1/4/71

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Bureau airtel, dated 12/22/70, instructing San Francisco to make changes in a proposed Detroit letter in order that the anonymous communication may be directed from the San Francisco area to NCCF and BPP Chapters, indicating that it was written by a national BPP functionary. San Francisco proposes the Detroit letter be shortened and criticize the BPP for (1) the high-type of living by Party leaders; (2) the failure of the Revolutionary People's Convention at Washington, D.C. due to lack of national guidance; and (3) the theoretical speeches of HUEY NEWTON not understood by the lumpen.

- ② - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - Detroit (157-3214) (RM)
- 1 - Baltimore (RM)
- 1 - Boston (RM)
- 1 - Chicago (RM)
- 1 - Indianapolis (RM)
- 1 - Los Angeles (RM)
- 1 - New Haven (RM)
- 1 - New York (RM)
- 1 - Philadelphia (RM)
- 1 - WFO (RM)
- 1 - San Francisco

(13)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

REC-69

EX-111

100-448006-2160

4 JAN 9 1971

18
FBI
REC. SEC.
REC. INT.

Airtel to SAC, SF et al.
1/14/71

Lg

49

San Francisco therefore requests authority to mail the following anonymous communication from Oakland, California to the Baltimore, New Haven, and New York NCCF and BPP Chapters and the Chicago, Indianapolis, Los Angeles, Philadelphia and WFO BPP Chapters:

"Oakland, California

"Comrades:

"Dispite expulsion, chaos and discipline of the lumpen, the Black Panther Party still lives and will continue to thrive. Too many of our leaders have now turned this movement into something to line their own pockets and have little regard for the man on the street selling "The Black Panther." Ask the members of your chapter coming to the national where the Comrade Commander and the Chief of Staff live. Huey Newton lives miles from another nigger and you'll never find him in National Headquarters. If you're lucky you can see him buying drinks for white freaks in Oakland supper clubs.

"These same leaders have now placed the fault of the Revolutionary People's Convention on the working members. Our chapters throughout the country rapped hard getting people together and signing up for the convention. On arriving in Washington nothing was ready and the white revolutionaries outnumbered the blacks. National Headquarters gave no guidance, no directives and the top man did not do anything for the convention until they arrived at Washington the day it opened.

"The brothers throughout the country, the real Black Panthers, should also stand up and give the leadership some idea of the value of the speeches they give for a big fee. I'm not trying to break down the Black Panther Party. We're trying to improve it and honestly tell the leadership what

SF 157-601

LSB/crv

is wrong. Few of us can understand Huey's recent speeches and how can we relate to him when we don't know what he's talking about. Consider this well for we are saying what we mean and mean what we say. Right on."

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1/18/71

PA
Airtel

To: SACs, Boston (157-531)
San Francisco (157-601) (Enclosure)

REC 44

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) — 2187

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS

EX-111

ReBSairtel to the Bureau 1/8/71, enclosing a proposed, fictitiously signed letter for mailing to Eldridge Cleaver, Black Panther Party (BPP) Minister of Information, in exile in Algeria.

One copy of the proposed letter from Boston is enclosed for the information of San Francisco.

Boston is authorized to send the letter as submitted to the Bureau to Cleaver in care of BPP National Headquarters. Insure that this mailing cannot be traced to the Bureau.

San Francisco will advise the Bureau of any results of this counterintelligence activity. It will be most interesting to determine if National Headquarters forwards Cleaver's letter to him intact, or if it is opened and read and possibly withheld by National Headquarters.

If there is an indication that this letter is read and/or withheld by National Headquarters, this should be considered as a basis for additional counterintelligence activity; and San Francisco should make appropriate recommendations.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

NOTE:

This is part of our continuing efforts to aggravate internal dissension among BPP leadership, utilizing the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention as an expedient situation.

MAILED 12
JAN 18 1971
COMM-FBI

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Brennan, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Huebs _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Woyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

97 JAN 22 1971

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

B52

FBI

Date: 1/8/71

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006) 701
 FROM: SAC, BOSTON (157-531)
 SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
 RACIAL MATTERS

Re Bureau airtel to Atlanta, et al, dated
 12/31/70.

Enclosed for the Bureau is one copy of a
 proposed letter to be sent to ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, which
 has been signed by a fictitious member of the Students
 for a Democratic Society (SDS). This letter is being
 forwarded to the Bureau as requested in referenced
 airtel.

2 - Bureau (Enc. 1) (RM)
 2 - Boston
 (1 - 100-36470) (RM)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
 OTHERWISE.

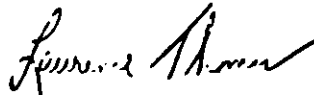
Approved: _____ Sent _____ M. Per _____
 Special Agent in Charge

58

important to the revolution and to revolutionary unity as the Convention should not have been delegated to the haphazard ways of Audrea Jones, whose title of Convention Coordinator certainly places her in the unenviable position of receiving the Party's wrath. It would have been politically expedient and certainly his duty for Huey Newton himself to have assumed command for the planning of the Convention. The lack of national leadership was more than evident and contributed to the confusion which surrounded even such menial tasks as registration, housing and day care, not withstanding the conflicting statements which were made concerning the location of rallies and meetings.

The Washington, D. C. extravaganza known as the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention has driven a deep wedge between the Party and any hope of creating an alliance of exploited people. The Black Panther Party has failed miserably. No longer can the Party be looked upon as the "Vanguard of the Revolution."

Yours in Revolution,



Laurence Thomas
Students for a Democratic Society
173A Massachusetts Avenue
Boston, Massachusetts

54

Mr. Eldridge Cleaver
Minister of Information (in exile)
c/o Black Panther Party
Box 2967 Custom House
San Francisco, California 94126

Dear Revolutionary Comrade:

The people's revolution in America was greatly impeded and the stature of the Black Panther Party, both nationally and internationally, received a major setback as an outcome of the recent Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention. The stage was set for a unified class struggle early last year when French poet and playwright Jean Genet spoke out in support of the Party and exhorted white radicals to "work hard for the Panthers."

The Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention did little, if anything, to organize our forces to move against the evils of capitalism, imperialism and racism. Any unity or solidarity which existed between the Black Panther Party and the white revolutionary movement before the Convention has now gone down the tube.

Those of us who attended the Convention saw first hand the inept ability of the Black Panther Party to organize and control not only its own delegates but those of other revolutionary factions. Not only did the Party fail to secure a place in Washington for the Convention but they failed to even arrange for an alternate site. This was sheer madness especially in view of the earlier setback in securing the D. C. Armory. The responsibility of any undertaking as meaningful and

55

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: JANUARY 11, 1971

FROM : SAC, MOBILE (157-2578) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Bulet, 1/6/71.

ReBulet granted authority to make an anonymous telephone call to [REDACTED] of the Bell Street Baptist Church, Montgomery, Ala., advising him of the fact that the Nation of Islam (NOI) group in Montgomery, Ala., were using his building in order to hold discussion-type meetings there.

[REDACTED] was telephonically contacted by [REDACTED] under an anonymous pretext, at which time [REDACTED] advised that members of his congregation had brought to his attention the activities of the NOI discussion group at the Bell Street Baptist Church and as a result, he has prohibited them from holding any further meetings at that location.

[REDACTED] has confirmed the fact that the NOI discussion group is no longer meeting at the Bell Street Baptist Church and at present are seeking a new location to hold their meetings.

DECLASSIFIED BY 6080
ON 11/2/77

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE

2 - Bureau (RM)
3 - Mobile (2-157-2578)
(1-157-3405-SF2) (NOI, MONTGOMERY)

(5)

JAN 15 1971

RACIAL INT. SECT.



57 JAN 20 1971

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

56

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 1/12/71

FROM : SAC, JACKSONVILLE (157-1523) (P*)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
JACKSONVILLE DIVISION

ReJYlet to Bureau dated 8/31/70.

PROGRESS LETTER

1. Operations Under Consideration

There is no counterintelligence action under consideration at this time by the Jacksonville Office. Agents assigned to this type investigation are alert for any possible action that might be recommended in the future.

2. Operations Being Affected

NONE

3. Tangible Results

NONE

4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interests

It is noted that during the past 90 day period, activity of groups which could be considered Black Nationalists have been very limited. There is no indication that a Black Panther Party has been established in the Jacksonville Division; however, this division is alert to the possibility of this group attempting to establish a part in this area and sources and informants have been alerted to report any attempts in this regard.

② - Bureau (RM)
- Jacksonville

REC-45

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

12 JAN 15 1971

REC'D. SECT.



3 JAN 21 1971 U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

1 - Mr. J. Sullivan
1 - Mr. J. Brennan
1 - Mr. E. Bishop
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 - [REDACTED]

1/13/71

Artel

1
1

To: SACs, Atlanta (Enclosures - 25)
Baltimore (Enclosures - 25)
Birmingham (Enclosures - 25)
Boston (Enclosures - 25)
Charlotte (Enclosures - 25)
Chicago (Enclosures - 25)
Columbia (Enclosures - 25)
Jackson (Enclosures - 25)
Jacksonville (Enclosures - 25)
Los Angeles (Enclosures - 25)
Memphis (Enclosures - 25)
Miami (Enclosures - 25)
Mobile (Enclosures - 25)
New Orleans (Enclosures - 25)
New York (Enclosures - 25)
Newark (Enclosures - 25)
Philadelphia (Enclosures - 25)
San Francisco (Enclosures - 25)
Savannah (Enclosures - 25)
Tampa (Enclosures - 25)
WFO (Enclosures - 25)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006)

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS

Enclosed for each office are 25 copies of an article recently appearing in Howard University, Washington, D. C., student newspaper "The Hilltop."

This article as a counterintelligence measure vividly shows the majority of black students and black leaders do not trust the Black Panther Party (BPP).

The article, if given wide distribution, represents an excellent potential for eroding support and sympathy for the BPP in black communities, particularly among students. This measure could disrupt BPP recruiting, particularly in the southern regions, where BPP is attempting to establish new chapters on black campuses.

Each office is instructed to make anonymous mailings to selected newspapers, black organizations, and colleges and universities having black students and black student organizations. If appropriate, copies should be mailed to off-campus black organizations.

(50)

97 JAN 22 1971

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ST-112

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Tolson
Sullivan
Mohr
Bishop
Brennan
Callahan
Casper
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Tavel
Walters
Soyars
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAILED 7

COMM-FBI

5

4

69
58

Airtel to Atlanta, et al.
RE: Cointelpro - Black Extremists
100-448006

Insure precautions are taken where mailings cannot be traced to the Bureau. Advise the identity of organizations, newspapers, and others receiving anonymous mailings, and furnish Bureau, San Francisco, and WFO with positive results.

NOTE:

See memorandum G. C. Moore to Mr. C. D. Brennan dated 1/12/71, captioned "Counterintelligence Program, Black Nationalist - Hate Groups, Racial Intelligence (Black Panther Party)," prepared by JOI:cb.

"Cointelpro - Black Extremists" is code name for Counterintelligence Program - Black Nationalists - Hate Groups, Racial Intelligence, approved 10/30/70.

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

1 - Mr. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. D. Brennan
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Brennan _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. D. Brennan

DATE: 1/12/71

FROM : Mr. G. C. Moore

1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

This is to recommend transmittal of attached airtel to selected offices authorizing anonymous mailings of an article recently appearing in Howard University, Washington, D.C., (WDC) student newspaper, by sophomore class, critical of Black Panther Party (BPP) and its leader Huey P. Newton.

The violence-prone BPP relies heavily on community and individual financial support to maintain its insidious and revolutionary program. The BPP held its Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention (RPCC) in WDC in November, 1970, and convention was considered to be a complete failure.

WFO has submitted article as a counterintelligence measure. The article states in September, 1970, Newton agreed to speak at the school for \$1,000 but BPP cancelled speech when their demand for more money was not met by the school. On 11/20/70 Newton agreed to speak to sophomore class and demanded \$500 but class cancelled speech. The article, critical of RPCC, asks such questions as, "Do the Panthers think black people are fools?" "When the Panthers hold a convention, why do more whites show up than blacks?" Article indicates the BPP has betrayed the black people.

This article if given wide distribution has the potential for eroding support and sympathy for the BPP in black communities particularly among students. Article is attached.

Enclosures

100-448006

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1/12/71 BY [REDACTED]
OTHERWISE.

ENC 44

CONTINUED - OVER

97 JAN 22 1971

60

Office furnishing meager and functional. There is a color television set running. Everywhere there are pictures of Newton, who during three years of imprisonment was virtually a martyr to the Panthers and appears to be worshipped no less in freedom. The most popular photo of Newton shows him bearing a big pump rifle at port arms, a belt of bullets slung over one shoulder, guerrilla fashion, and a tilted beret.

This is his headquarters, and it's run as if he lived in it—and directed everything from a basement fortress.

WHILE waiting for the courier who's to conduct you to Newton's abode, the idea of asking Miss Williams, "What's a nice girl like you doing in a revolution like this?" occurs, but is brushed aside. At last Connie Matthews enters with the confident stride of a showgirl. She will lead the way to the Newton apartment in Berkeley. Possessing a model's exotic high cheekbones, this black woman dresses like a page from a fashion ad in her sleek leather poncho and psychedelic bell-bottoms.

"Yes," she concedes en route, "I did some modeling in what I call my bourgeois days in Vienna." Speaking in a cultured, half-British, half-European accent, she directs the way to the Newton abode, apologizing for not knowing her way better and explaining, "I've only been here a few weeks. I'm from the (Panther) embassy in Algiers. That's my regular post." She works with Eldridge Cleaver the Panther Party minister of information who preferred impromptu exile to jail on a probation violation

charge. Cleaver, author of "Soul On Ice," would like to come back, Miss Matthews explains, if there's some way it can be arranged safely. Stokely Carmichael? She doesn't know where he is, but states with a meaningful stress, the Panthers certainly would like to know. (There is a report that he is suspected of CIA links and the black brothers would like to discuss this matter with him.)

THE Newton-Hoffman apartment is on the third floor, and on a clear day you can see San Francisco Bay, bridge and all, in the distance. The apartment is a compendium of middle-class trappings. Carpeting, wall-to-wall books, framed line drawings, and large plants. The diversity of titles on the bookshelves is astounding. Mao, Freud, Dostoevsky, and psychology, anthropology, art, law, sociology, economics, war, history, biography, music, poetry, even the Bible.

A cool wind keeps the white curtain flying inward and a component stereo system plays Bobby Dylan over and over again, a Newton favorite. The coffee table is stacked with pro-left literature, music show broadsides and art pamphlets. There are legal pads with notes and an unautographed copy of Bobby Seale's new book, "Seize the Time."

It may be of historic note that with Cleaver's book, Seale's, and a new book of the prison letters of George Jackson, not to mention Newton's own work, "Revolutionary Suicide," due for publication next year, the Black Panthers have the highest ratio of published and incarcerated members of any organization in the world east of Siberia.

All black Panthers in jail — all black men in jail — are political prisoners, prisoners of war," Newton said, "and we will free them." He brought up, for example, Angela Davis, the Communist college teacher who was arrested on charges of purchasing the guns used in a fatal West Coast shoot-out. Newton asserted, "Absolute madness has swept the shores of America. The very fact that the reactionary authority has the audacity to accuse Angela Davis of a crime is indicative of the lack of justice and the lack of simple reasoning. Those who are clearly guilty are exonerated. Those who are victim and innocent stand accused."

A bodyguard went out for roast beef sandwiches and beer. Fresh coffee was turned on. Another attractive girl joined the group and Newton left to greet her. He kept talking, almost as though quoting something he had written. "The Black Panther Party is very close in friendship to the Palestine people who are fighting a just fight of freedom. Civil Rights was only a continuation of the American War of national liberation of 1776 . . . Those who have been robbed of old will be compensated . . . the US is a leader of the international clique of thieves; it is an internationalism of the bourgeoisie . . . Seventy-six companies control the wealth of this country."

In Newton's eyes one can see explosions, gunfire by the dawn's early light, the molotov cocktails bursting in air.

He may die young, but he insists he isn't afraid. The time will come, he says, when he'll be willing to tangle in a fight to the death with white America. It'll be a real gutter fight, he feels. But when that time comes, he's confident he'll have a few friends waiting in the alley, like twenty million Chinese soldiers.

73

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 12/31/70

FROM : SAC, CINCINNATI (157-2346D) (C)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE MEASURES
BLACK PANTHER PARTY
PH

ReBurairtel to Alexandria and other offices 11/10/70

This matter has been handled, but no positive results noted or any publicity observed. Should anything of value be obtained the Bureau will be advised.

- 1 - Bureau (PM)
1 - Cincinnati

(3)

REC 8

2151

JAN 8 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

RACIAL INT. SECT.



5010-108-02

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

74

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1-14-71

Airtel

EX-111

1 - [REDACTED]

To: SAC, Richmond (105-5096)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) - 213

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS

Reurlet 12-31-70.

Referenced letter recommends that an anonymous letter be sent to Elijah Muhammad, Chicago, Illinois, regarding the fact that members of the National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) are selling the Black Panther newspaper in an area in Richmond, Virginia, where the Nation of Islam (NOI) paper has been sold for years.

Authority is granted to send the anonymous letter as recommended and outlined in relet. Appropriate precautions are to be taken to avoid the possibility of the letter being traced back to the Bureau. Advise Bureau if any tangible results observed as result of this action.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

NOTE:

The papers of NOI have been sold for years in downtown Richmond. With recent organization of the NCCF in Richmond, members have started selling the Black Panther paper in the same area. Those selling each paper have exchanged views. Richmond recommends anonymous letter be directed to Elijah Muhammad in Chicago complaining of this fact and indicating that NOI members are consorting with NCCF members and further that NOI members are afraid to sell papers in opposition to NCCF. The purpose of this letter is to cause dissension with the possibility that Elijah Muhammad may issue some directive to the Richmond Mosque which could further this dissension between NOI and NCCF.

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Hirshman, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Boysen _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

97 JAN 10 1971 MAIL ROOM [] TYPE UNIT []

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 12-31-70

FROM : SAC, RICHMOND (105-5096) - P -

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - *Black Panther Party*
BLACK EXTREMIST
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Buairtel to Richmond, 11-25-70.

The suggestion in re Buairtel has been considered and Richmond believes that an anonymous letter directed to NOI headquarters in Chicago could produce widespread counter-intelligence results. Richmond proposes the following letter be sent:

"Dear Honorable Elijah Muhammad, . . .

As Salaam Alaikum

I don't want to say who i is but i do want you to no somthin you should no and need to no because it is bringin desgrase on your Mosque in Richmond, Va. For a long time the brothers has been sellin the paper on Broad St., now a few weeks ago them panthres start in to sell there paper and some of the brothers has been seen given with them panthres. Last week more panthres was seen sellin there paper then the brothers and people is sayin some of the brothers has join the panthres and other brothers is afraid to sell the paper when the panthres is selin there. Them panthres is no good for the so called american negro and i think them panthres is goin to take over your Mosque in Richmond."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

REC-63

EX-112

4 JAN 1971

(2) - Bureau (RM)

4 - Richmond

(2-105-5096) (1-157-2966) (1-157-2991)

(6) Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



SAC, New York (100-161140)

January 13, 1971

Director, FBI (100-448006)

REC-122

COUNTELLING - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS

1 -
1 -
1 -
1 -

(enVlets 12/14/70 and 1/5/71.

The Bureau fails to see possible counterintelligence value to be obtained from action to be taken as proposed in referenced communications. Accordingly, your request in this matter is being denied.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES

ADVISED BY ROUTING

SLIP(S) OF

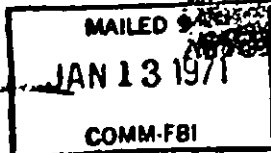
DATE

100-161140
4-2-77 6080

(7)

NOTE: New York has recommended, mailing of a letter to all members of the Third Venceremos Brigade whose addresses are available. The letter was allegedly written by a disgruntled Negro currently residing in Cuba and decrying racial discrimination in that country. This letter was to be mailed from New York as an enclosure to a letter supposedly prepared by [redacted] of Student National Coordinating Committee leader [redacted], who traveled to Cuba with the Third Venceremos Brigade in the Summer of 1970. [redacted] letter, as proposed, would also indicate a copy of the disgruntled black's letter was being furnished to the Cuban Mission to the United Nations in New York. This has been coordinated with the Internal Security Section.

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Brannan, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____



97 JAN 13 1971

DECLASSIFIED BY 6080
ON 4/2/77

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 1/5/71

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-161140)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS

ReBuairtel 12/21/70.

Reference Bureau communication withheld approval of New York counter-intelligence recommendation sent 12/14/70 by letter. The Bureau requested specific target at which the counter-intelligence recommendation was aimed and the possible benefits to be derived from such counter-intelligence effort.

The specific target of the letter is the apparent relationship which exists between the Cuban Government, the Venceremos Brigade, and various members of the so called New Left, in the United States.

The possible benefits to be derived from this counter-intelligence effort are as follows:

1. Creating a wedge between the Cuban Government and the Venceremos Brigade (VB).
2. Possible disruption of future VB activities in Cuba.
3. To indicate that Cuba in the eyes of a black North American encourages racism.
4. Confuse returned white VB members with the allegation from a black revolutionary in Cuba that although they may not have been disposed to observe racism in Cuba, it does exist to the detriment of the black man.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - New York

EX-113

DECLASSIFIED BY 6080
ON 4/2/77



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

NY 100-161140

5. attribute to [REDACTED] a SNCC functionary who has also visited Cuba, an anti-Cuban attitude in view of her charges of discriminatory practices in Cuba today and prevent any future cooperation between [REDACTED] and the Cuban Government.

ROUTE IN ELOPE

12/29/70

Airtel

1
1

To: SAC, Boston (137-531)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) — 214

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RM

Re: Airtel to Bureau 12/15/70.

The Bureau has reviewed the article "Panther Convention Fizzles Out--No Constitution Yet" and the rough draft pamphlet submitted with referenced airtel; your interest in this important project and the effort obviously put forth in preparing the pamphlet are appreciated.

The Bureau has received a very provocative article from a Howard University campus publication which is being distributed at this time. Therefore, your article will not be utilized.

The rough draft pamphlet certainly has merit, particularly the notations under "Heard on the Street" concerning the failure of the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention.

The Bureau is presently preparing material for distribution to selected news media and will consider including portions of your proposals.

(5)

NOTE:

MAILED 4

DEC 28 1970

COMM-FBI

Tolson
Sullivan
Mohr
Bishop
DeLoach, C.D.
Callahan
Casper
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Tavel
Walters
Soyars
Tele. Rm.
Holmes
Gandy

Boston's proposed news article is critical of the recent Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention, but it is not strong enough. Boston's proposed pamphlet is considered too elaborate for reproduction and distribution at this time, but portions of material in the pamphlet are being considered for inclusion in a mass media.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/10/00 BY 60322
ORIGINAL FILE

92 JAN 11 1971

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

FBI

Date: 12/15/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via TELETYPE _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
 FROM: SAC, BOSTON (157-531)(P)
 SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
 RI

Rebuairtel to Boston, et al, 12/3/70.

Enclosed for the Bureau is one copy of an article entitled "Panther Convention Fizzles Out--No Constitution Yet," which appeared in the December 2, 1970, issue of "The News," a student newspaper of the Boston University community published independently of Boston University students from the several schools and colleges of the university.

Also enclosed is a rough draft outline of a pamphlet which the Bureau may desire to utilize as the media for setting out "The News" article and other similar commentaries on the RPCC, especially those from other college campus newspapers. At the end of this pamphlet is included a section captioned "Heard on the Street." This section includes comments made by various Boston informants who attended the RPCC in Washington, D. C., and which were included in Boston airtel and LHM dated 12/3/70 captioned "RPCC." The date line has been changed on two of their comments in order to further protect the source of information.

It is anticipated that in response to referenced airtel the Bureau may receive additional newspaper articles or statements highlighting BPP failures with regard to the RPCC which could be added to this pamphlet and subsequently mailed anonymously to news media, campus organizations, BPP supporters, etc.

2 Bureau (Incls. 2) (RM)
 2 Boston

(11) ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC
 DOWNGRADING AND
 DECLASSIFICATION

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
 Special Agent in Charge

An endless series of caucuses sprang up in the afternoon, with each meeting breaking down into a series of smaller ones in an orgy of asexual reproduction. At a New England caucus, one man asked why it was necessary to travel to Washington for such a meeting. He was totally ignored, as was everyone else. After a women's caucus a participant explained, "We know what has to be done in our area. We don't need men around to discuss it with us." By then I was beyond arguing with her.

82

THE IMPULSE

Volume 3, Number 12

December 2, 1970

Panther convention fizzles out 'no constitution yet'

By LEE PERLINGHETTI
NEWS Asst. City Editor

It was the one thing the Movement in this country really needed, people said.
It would heal the biggest hole in the Left's public image and
probably heal its internal wounds as well, people said.

So last week the Black Panther party attempted to hold a People's Constitutional Convention in Washington, with all interested people invited to help draw up outlines for the revolutionary government that will someday be. When it was over, the convention had broken into 20,000 pieces and no one knew quite who to blame.

For years people have asked kids on the Left, "What do you intend to put up in place of the society you tear down?" None of them ever had any answer. They knew the Movement could never unite behind any one such scheme. Thinking about the future took too much creative energy. And many no doubt suspected, deep down, that they would never get close enough to a revolution for it to matter.

The Panthers, lacking sophistication and cynicism, began planning for the convention a year ago. Local chapters and support groups began making plans to provide food, transportation, medical supplies and personnel, child care facilities. Mass participation was urged at every Panther rally. Clouds began forming on the

tion the use of the DC Armory. The Panthers were not disturbed. "If they won't let us use the Armory, we'll hold it on the White House lawn!" Information Minister Big Man told a crowd in New Haven.

Unfortunately, such bravado did them no practical good when, at the last moment, Howard University refused the convention the use of its facilities, ostensibly because it had not paid the required security fee in advance. There was also a rumor that the government had put pressure on the school to refuse. But Howard's conduct was made possible by the attitude of its student body, which favored the nationalistic views of alumnus Stokely Carmichael and was antagonistic toward the Panthers and their honkey allies.

At one point, there was a rumor that the conventioners would march on Howard. Fortunately, this never materialized.

Thus the Panthers had to provide for the welfare of 20,000 visitors with no facilities and no preparations. They commandeered the use of their own office. All Souls and St. Stephen's Churches, various facilities of Trinity Col-

Somehow everyone got a place to sleep, in quarters that ranged from college dorms to an apartment occupied by squatters. Somehow everyone was fed, although not easily and not well. A haphazard communications network was maintained among the widely scattered conventioners. The Panthers accomplished every-

thing, in fact, except what everyone had come for in the first place.

On Friday night the Panthers requested the use of a large public park in the Northwest Washington ghetto for a public meeting. The authorities granted the request, on the assumption that the occasion would be used to cancel the convention. Instead, those present vowed to remain in the city. After this the Lumpen, the Panther electric rock band whose lyrics make those of other groups sound like Mother Goose rhymes, performed for the crowd. A fine time was had by all.

But all this couldn't brighten Black Saturday, when the Panthers finally admitted that conditions had rendered discussion of the new constitution impossible. Instead, they asked those

43

/ HEARD ON THE STREET /

den Mass:

ANDREA JONES, National Coordinator for the RPCC admitted that the convention was a complete disaster and the Party sustained considerable loss of stature because the convention was a bust.

Washington D.C.:

The Gay Liberation movement was in charge of providing female housing at Trinity College. The female delegates to the Convention assigned to sleep at the College were harassed all night by lesbians and most of them either got very little sleep or slept in chairs.

Chicago Illinois:

Delegates to the RPCC were very frustrated with the outcome of the Convention, especially the domineering attitude displayed by the EPP towards other groups. There was so much tension and dissatisfaction that most people

Boston, Mass:

A member of the Boston chapter of the Black Panther Party observed that when HUEY P. NEWTON spoke on the new Revolutionary People's Constitution, only a few individuals had copies of the resolutions and declarations. People all around were cursing and complaining about the micromanagement and poor organization that went into the convention.

Newspaper article to begin here

65

THE COLLEGE CAMPUS LOOKS
AT THE "REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLES
CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION" OR-
GANIZED BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

*This packet includes selected
comments on the RPCC held in Washington
D.C. 11/27-29/70 which were published
in various independent and college
newspapers throughout the country.*

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SA [redacted] New York (100-161140)

January 6, 1971

ST-114 REC-73
Director, FBI (100-448006) — 2147

1 - New York Field Guidance
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS

ReNYairtel 12/21/70.

Counterintelligence proposal suggested in relet is not being approved in its current format at this time. The Bureau notes New York's suggestion in this matter could provide impetus required to touch off acts of physical violence between the Black Panther Party (BPP) and the Nation of Islam (NOI) organization in New York.

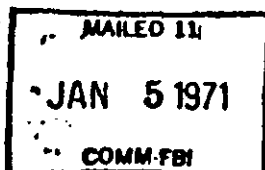
APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF *Declassification*
DATE *11-5-77* *EC/ka*

(7)

men
ff
NOTE: Prior information developed by New York indicates the two leaders of the BPP organization in New York City, [redacted] both lack leadership qualities and spend the majority of their workdays drinking and having relations with female BPP members. Reairtel suggests this situation be called to the attention of national BPP leader Huey Newton by means of a letter bearing a type-written indication it originated with an individual within the Fruit of Islam, the military arm of the NOI organization in New York, and involving [redacted] with female members of NOI organization. The letter further threatens that in the event Newton is unable to discipline his followers, then the NOI organization will have to undertake this activity.

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Brennan, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Rm. _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

DECLASSIFIED BY *6080*
ON *7/7/77* *ed/ps*



MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

FBI

Date: 12/21/70

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-161140) (P)
SUBJECT: COINTELPRO
BLACK-EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF DECLASSIFICATION
DATE 4-2-77 ES/100

ReNYlet and LHM dated 11/19/70, captioned "ROBERT
LEONARD BEY, RM - BPP"; Bu airtel to NY, 12/8/70.

Inasmuch as the information in the referenced LHM
emanated from one source, any use of this information for
counterintelligence purposes must be done in a very circumspect
manner to prevent the source from being identified.

Therefore, the information contained in the following
proposed letter is vague and the signatory is fictitious. The
name of [REDACTED] was included in this letter, in that [REDACTED]
a BPP member and the subject of a Bureau investigation, is also
known for his riotous living, sexual prowess, and an inordinate
interest in the female pudenda.

Brother Huey Newton:

Let this be a warning to you and your followers:

We will not tolerate the actions [REDACTED] or
[REDACTED] any longer. We know that both of these men who
claim to be Black Panthers and your followers have been active
in the area of our Mosque and have been bothering our women and
children.

Bureau (RM)
1- New York (43)

REC-73/100-448006-2147

DEC 25 1 10 PM '70

1-6-71

DEC 22 1970

1- Supv. #43

DECLASSIFIED BY 60800
ON 4/2/77

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

RACIAL MATTERS SECT.

NY 170-2464

We know for a fact that [REDACTED] got one of our Muslim girls drunk and then he raped her at the Black Panther Headquarters in the Bronx, NY.

We know for a fact that [REDACTED] is drunk most of the time and also has attempted to attack our women.

Brother Newton, we members of the Fruit of Islam have no argument with you but if you cannot make your followers, [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] behave, then we will have to discipline them in our own way.

Lionel 3X
Fruit of Islam
Mosque 7C
New York

NY recommends the letter be sent from NY to Black Panther Headquarters in Oakland, Cal. It would be prepared with the approved counterintelligence safeguards utilized therein.

No action will be taken on this recommendation without prior Bureau approval.

December 23, 1970

irtel

To: SAC, Albany
From: Director, FBI

- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. Casper
- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF [REDACTED]
DATE 4-2-77

**KEY BLACK EXTREMIST PROGRAM
RACIAL MATTERS**

During your investigations of black extremist organizations and individuals, you have furnished information indicating that certain individuals are extremely active and most vocal in their anti-Government statements and their calls for terrorism and violence. Although the violence potential in all black extremists necessitates continued priority attention by all offices, there are certain individual leaders and activists who can be considered as Key Black Extremists (KBE).

At this time, the Bureau is designating those on the attached list as KBEs. The term KBE does not require that an individual actually hold an official position in an organization but is to include others of equal importance because of their influence as black extremists.

An intensified investigation of each person on the attached list must be immediately instituted with the objective of developing complete and detailed information on their day-to-day activities and future plans. Each office must continually remain alert for additions to the KBE list. Submit all recommendations to make specific subjects KBEs to the Bureau for approval. Those cases must be given intensive investigative attention and close supervision by all offices. Maintain a high level of

Enclosure

DECLASSIFIED BY 6080
ON 4/2/77

NOT RECORDED

46 JAN 5 1971

2 - All Offices (Enclosure)

SEE NOTE PAGE THREE

Tolson
Sullivan
Mohr
Bishop
Brennan, C.D.
Callahan
Casper
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Tavel
Walters
Soyars
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

(123)

58 JAN 8 1971

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

1 copy sent to [REDACTED]
to HQ 1/15/71 B

127-2113-373

S90

Airtel to SAC, Albany
KEY BLACK EXTREMIST PROGRAM

Informant coverage on the subjects. All avenues of investigative attention must be explored and necessary recommendations to the Bureau must be made promptly.

The desirable coverage must include, but not be limited to, the following investigation. These investigations must be conducted with initiative and imagination in order that the desired results are achieved. Each of these cases will receive close scrutiny at the Bureau.

(1) All KBEs must be included in Priority I of the Security Index. If not already so included, promptly submit FD-122.

(2) All KBEs must be included in the Black Nationalist Photograph Album (BNPA). Promptly submit photograph and required background on each KBE not presently in the BNPA and when a subject is designated a KBE.

(3) All aspects of the finances of a KBE must be determined. Bank accounts must be monitored. Safe deposit boxes, investments, and hidden assets must be located and available information regarding them must be reported.

(4) Continued consideration must be given by each office to develop means to neutralize the effectiveness of each KBE. Any counterintelligence proposal must be approved by the Bureau prior to implementation.

(5) Obtain suitable handwriting specimens of each KBE to be placed in the National Security File in the Laboratory. When possible, obtain specimens from public records, law enforcement agencies, and similar sources. Send specimens to the Bureau under separate cover letter by registered mail for the attention of the FBI Laboratory. When they are of value as evidence, so state in the transmittal letter and request their return after copies have been made. Specimens should be sufficient to permit future comparisons by the Laboratory.

Airtel to SAC, Albany
KEY BLACK EXTREMIST PROGRAM

(6) Particular efforts should be made to obtain records of and/or reliable witnesses to, inflammatory statements made which may subsequently become subject to criminal proceedings. Promptly record all such information in interview report form.

(7) Where there appears to be a possible violation of a statute within the investigative jurisdiction of the Bureau, the substantive violation character should be included in subsequent communications and the possible violation vigorously investigated in accordance with existing instructions.

(8) Particular attention must be paid to travel by a KBE and every effort made to determine financial arrangements for such travel. If a credit card is used, determine its validity and the amount being charged to that card on a continuing basis. Travel information must be submitted to the Bureau and interested offices by appropriate communication to permit coverage of the KBE. It will be the responsibility of the office of origin to insure that the activities of the KBE are covered by auxiliary offices.

(9) The Federal income tax returns of all KBEs must be checked annually in accordance with existing instructions.

If no investigative summary report has been submitted in each case, such a report must be submitted to the Bureau by 2/15/71. Thereafter, an investigative report should be submitted at least every 90 days. Furthermore, appropriate communications suitable for dissemination should be promptly submitted in the interim to keep the Bureau fully advised of the activities of each KBE. The words (Key Black Extremist:) should be included in the character of each communication submitted except those communications (including reports) which are prepared for dissemination.

NOTE: See memorandum G. C. Moore to C. D. Brennan, dated 12/22/70, captioned as above, prepared by CEG:ekw.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, ST. LOUIS (157-5872) (RUC)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE MEASURES
BPP-RM

DATE: 12-23-70

Rebuairtel, 11-10-70, which enclosed column by VICTOR RIESEL concerning BPP and instructing that each office anonymously mail copies.

St. Louis has mailed articles to ten most logical labor unions and eight firms handling air freight.

Prior investigation has indicated that TWA has handled air freight to St. Louis from San Francisco for BPP during 1969 on at least one occasion.

On 11-19-70, [REDACTED] checked records which indicated TWA is not currently delivering BPP paper to any of the known bulk recipients in the St. Louis area. [REDACTED] of course, was not informed of even the existence of the RIESEL article.

For the information of the Bureau, there is no BPP Chapter in St. Louis, Mo., and it appears that bulk deliveries of the paper is made by automobile from East St. Louis, Ill. These papers, in turn, are believed to be furnished through Chicago, Ill.

The St. Louis Office is aware that efforts are currently being made to establish a NCCF Chapter in St. Louis and the St. Louis Office will be alert to advise the Bureau of any positive results noted from above action taken and any opportunity to further use the RIESEL article.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

EX-115

REC-6

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - St. Louis

(3)

REC'D INT. SECT. 98

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, INDIANAPOLIS (157-761) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

DATE: 12/22/70

Re Indianapolis letter to the Bureau, 9/23/70.

A succinct summary of Black Nationalist Movement in the Indianapolis Division is set forth below:

A. NATION OF ISLAM (NOI)

The Indianapolis Division presently has six meeting places, two of which are designated as mosques by the NOI. Mosque Number 31 is located at South Bend, Indiana, and has the largest membership, numbering approximately 60 members. The second largest is located at Gary, Indiana, and is designated Mosque Number 33. It has approximately 40 members. The Indianapolis group has increased its membership very slightly to approximately 27 members, but still lacks the 30 members minimum required for designation as a mosque. It is, however, the third largest NOI group in the State of Indiana.

Additionally, meeting places are also located in East Chicago, Evansville, and Fort Wayne, Indiana, each of these having somewhere between four and six members. The group at Muncie, Indiana, disbanded sometime in the late summer or early fall of 1970, after being evicted from their meeting place. This disbandment apparently occurred because of the difficulty in obtaining a new meeting place and a resulting lack of interest on the part of members.

(2) - Bureau (RM)
1 - Indianapolis

(3)

REC 74

EX-112

DEC 30 1970

55 JAN 11 1970

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

RACIAL INT. SECT.



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

Membership in this group has remained fairly stable as noted. Little activity takes place by the group in the Indiana area, with the exception of regular meetings conducted by NOI ministers of respective groups. It is reported that all ministers have received instructions from Chicago, Illinois, which they follow with no change.

The NOI receives financing through sale of their newspaper "Muhammad Speaks" and from several businesses known as the Shabazz Enterprises in Indianapolis. Dues, which are regularly collected from members, are also part of NOI group financing.

The NOI has never created any problems in the Indianapolis Division, and is not generally considered a threat to the U. S. Government or to the peace of Indiana. However, because of strong religious conviction, it is felt that if once motivated, the NOI could be a real threat to the peace because of the dedication and organization of this group. At the present time, there is no reason to consider this group a threat since it does not seem violence prone.

B. BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

The BPP operates from its headquarters at 414 East 23rd Street.

Membership in the group continues to be approximately eight to ten active members, with possibly ten to 15 sympathizers, who assist with miscellaneous functions conducted by the BPP, such as selling raffle tickets or assisting in the collection or distribution of a BPP Pantry Program, recently instituted by that group. These latter individuals do not appear to have any real devotion to the BPP cause however.

The current leader of the BPP is [REDACTED] Minister of Defense, who is either assisted by, or in contention with [REDACTED], who advertises herself as Field

AP 104-761

Lieutenant in that group and who is the only individual permitted to sign checks drawn on the BPP, Inc. bank account.

[REDACTED] Area Captain, has announced his withdrawal and disaffiliation with the BPP.

Political education classes have been deemphasized by the Indianapolis chapter of the BPP because of poor attendance there. A Breakfast Program for School Children was started and effective for a matter of a few weeks, but was discontinued because the BPP had no heat and poor service from other utilities. This group currently owes utility firms and rental agent in excess of \$1,000. This amount has been increasing monthly.

The leading BPP member at Indiana University (IU), Bloomington, Indiana, [REDACTED] as previously noted was [REDACTED]. He currently is advertised as being en route to Hanoi, North Vietnam, in order to effect a People-To-People Peace Treaty with that government.

The Fred Hampton Memorial Community Center, Gary, Indiana, is nearly completely defunct. This group, primarily connected with the Chicago, Illinois BPP, has no telephone service and it is generally unoccupied. Its members reportedly will spend the winter in Chicago.

No real problems have occurred as a result of BPP activity in the Indianapolis Division. Although this group has not been involved in acts of violence to date, they are considered to have the most potential for violence of any of the Black extremist groups presently operating in the Indianapolis Division.

The BPP continues to be followed closely and investigation is included in monthly summary airtels, evidentiary reports and financial airtels.

1. Operations Under Consideration

The NOI, because of its non-violent approach, thus far has not been considered for counterintelligence measures. Interview program is maintained.

Interviews with BPP members' relatives and former members, as well as residents in the BPP community continue and are utilized in an attempt to keep this group from enlarging or becoming more unified under better leadership.

2. Operations Being Effectuated

As mentioned above, interviews with individuals who are members of Black organizations, affiliates or persons coming in contact with such groups are conducted on a regular basis.

Every opportunity to exploit differences of opinion between leadership and the organizations themselves are utilized.

In addition, several counterintelligence measures have been effectuated or employed.

An article highlighting the fear of Jews to anti-Zionism of the BPP and the New Left appearing in the 8/14/70 issue of the "New York Times" has been sent anonymously to various individuals of Jewish origin and affiliated with Jewish organizations in the Indianapolis and Lafayette, Indiana areas. It is noted that this article, extracted from the "New York Times" notes that the fear of BPP and New Left that Zionism represents open hostility to Israel as the imperialistic partner of the United States. This article shows further that this ostensible reason for attack is a sham for actual abusive, hateful anti-Semitism by those groups. The article further documents instances in radical publications and shows other material supporting this conclusion and applies embarrassing anti-Semitic stigma to the radical New Left and BPP.

With regard to [REDACTED] an anonymous mailing to various legitimate IU student organizations entitled [REDACTED] 'Cop-Out' Or More Aptly 'No More Bull.' " was recently conducted. This mailing emphasized [REDACTED] proposed trip to Hanoi and his alleged representation of IU students at the People-To-People Peace Treaty being conducted there. It attacked the use of funds, contributed by students of IU to the student government of that college by [REDACTED] for personal political gains. It showed [REDACTED] connection with the BPP and the Student Mobilization Committee and generally attempts to discredit him as a true student representative.

An anonymous mailing has also been made to various Black leaders in the Indianapolis community, as well as individuals somewhat in sympathy with certain causes espoused by them and militant or radical groups. This particular mailing obtained from the Bureau is captioned "Let's Compare the Ten Point Program of the Black Panther Party with 'Like It Is'." This mailing lists BPP demands with logical refutation of these demands.

Currently, the Indianapolis Division is compiling a list of union officials and police organizations in the Indiana area in order to conduct a mailing which reproduces a column written by VICTOR RIESEL regarding the BPP. Part of his column deals with the proposal that union members refuse to handle shipments of BPP newspapers and generally boycott BPP transmissions.

3. Tangible Results

While it cannot be said with certainty that the BPP has lost any of its support from Jewish segments that might have previously contributed under the mantle of liberal support for oppressed individuals, it is definite that the BPP recently has incurred more and more debt in its operation in the Indianapolis Division.

IP 157-761

It cannot be stated that the mailing reproduced from the "New York Times" is responsible for lack of contributions, however, the fact of the mounting indebtedness of the BPP is noted in this regard.

In connection with the mailing concerning [REDACTED] tangible results are already noted. Numerous articles are appearing in the student newspapers at IU, denouncing [REDACTED] for his trip and attitude.

No tangible results regarding "Like It Is" have come to the attention of the Indianapolis Division at this time.

4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest

There have been no further developments of counterintelligence interest other than those mentioned above.

FBI

Date: 12/21/70

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIR MAIL - REGISTERED

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-4054)(P)
RE: COINTELPRO
BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Re Los Angeles airtel to the Bureau dated 12/3/70, captioned as above, and Bureau airtel to Boston dated 12/3/70, San Francisco airtel to the Bureau dated 12/14/70, and Bureau airtel to Los Angeles dated 12/15/70, all entitled "COINTELPRO BLACK EXTREMISTS, RACIAL MATTERS".

Per San Francisco's suggestion in referenced airtel, Bureau authority is requested to send a copy of the JULIAN WALKER article from the "Berkeley Barb", 12/11-17/70, in Los Angeles letter to BPP Minister of Information ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, criticizing BPP Supreme Commander HUEY NEWTON for the failure of the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention (RPCC). San Francisco is requested to provide an original copy of the WALKER article.

Los Angeles informants attending the RPCC stated that the failure of the RPCC was generally blamed on officials at Howard University and that local BPP leaders had not been openly criticized. Though no additional counterintelligence proposal will be submitted at this time, Los Angeles will be alert for any future dissension which may arise from the failure of the RPCC.

EX-113

REC-71

100-448006-2144

- 1-9067
② - Bureau (RM)
2 - San Francisco (157-601)(RM)
2 - Los Angeles

30 DEC 26 1970

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

57 JAN 6 1971

Approved:

Special Agent in Charge

M Per

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1/6/71

Airtel

To: SAC, San Francisco (157-601)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) - 2 1 1 3

EX-115 REC-135
COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS

ReSFlet to the Bureau 12/21/70 and San Francisco
airtel to the Bureau 12/8/70.

San Francisco is authorized to send the anonymous
letter to Eldridge Cleaver, Black Panther Party (BPP)
Minister of Information in Algeria, as proposed in first
reference, along with a copy of the letter previously sent
to Huey P. Newton, BPP Supreme Commander, by San Francisco as
proposed in second reference.

San Francisco is also authorized to anonymously
send to Cleaver an original copy of the Julian Walker article
from the "Berkeley Barb" of December 11-17, 1970, which is
critical of the Revolutionary People's Constitutional
Convention (RPCC). Insure that these mailings cannot be
traced to the Bureau.

Advise the Bureau of any results of this counter-
intelligence activity.

(5)

MAILED 21
JAN 6 1971

COMM-FBI

NOTE:

San Francisco was previously authorized to send
anonymous letter to Huey P. Newton, critical of his inept
organization of RPCC. San Francisco is authorized to send
a copy of this letter, plus a critical article from an
underground newspaper, to Eldridge Cleaver. Purpose is to
provoke Cleaver into questioning Newton's leadership of BPP

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Herman, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Conroy _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____

51 JAN 8 1971

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Handwritten: 101
Handwritten: 101

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 12/21/70

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS

ReBuairtel 12/15/70, authorizing Los Angeles to forward anonymous communication to ELDRIDGE CLEAVER.

San Francisco agrees that a large number of letters directed to CLEAVER over a short period of time would cast doubt on the authenticity of the communications.

By airtel 12/14/70, San Francisco furnished a photostat of a critical article by JULIAN WALKER in the "Berkeley Barb" concerning the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention (RPCC). It is presumed that Los Angeles will forward its letter without the inclusion of the article.

San Francisco requests Bureau authority to forward CLEAVER the original clipping of the article without comment.

San Francisco has also received permission from the Bureau to forward to HUEY NEWTON an anonymous letter critical of the RPCC and the Black Panther's part in it. This is being done. San Francisco requests Bureau authority to also forward a copy of the same letter to CLEAVER with the following cover letter.

"San Francisco

"Mr. Cleaver--

"Here is a letter I sent to Huey Newton. I'm sincere and I hope you can do something to set him right and get him off his duff".

15

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Los Angeles (157-4054) (RM) REC 19
1 - Washington Field (RM)
1 - San Francisco

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

DEC 28 1970



102

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 12/21/70

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS

Re NYlet 12/10/70, concerning the mailing of a letter ostensibly originating with MUHAMMAD HUNT.

The mailing address for ELDRIDGE CLEAVER and the Black Panther Party (BPP) in Algiers is Boite Postale 118, Grande Poste, Alger, Algeria.

L

LC 85

EX-106

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Atlanta (157-) (RM)
1 - New York (157-6024) (RM)
1 - San Francisco

DEC 28 1970

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

RACIAL INT. SECT.

103



JAN 1 1971

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

F B I

Date: 12/14/70

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____ (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, WFO (157-1292) (P*)

**COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS**

ReBuairtel 12/9/70.

Enclosed for the Bureau and NY is one copy of article appearing in "The Hilltop" by FRANTZ TAGOE.

The articles referred to in reBuairtel are known to WFO since the Howard University student publication "The Hilltop" is reviewed regularly by WFO.

Although it is true that the articles of FRANTZ TAGOE are critical of the Black Panther Party (BPP), the use of these articles have serious drawbacks,

The most serious shortcoming to the use of these articles is the author's Pan Africanist approach to the BPP. To merely circulate these articles because they attack the BPP would place the Bureau in the untenable position of circulating the political thoughts of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, a leading spokesman for Pan Africanism, as a substitute for the excesses of the BPP; i.e., circulating one set of anti-white thoughts for another.

ENCLOSURE

2 - Bureau (Enc.1)
2 - New York (100-161140)(Enc.1)(RM)
1 - WFO

REC-77
ST-117

10 DEC 23 1970

AIRTEL

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent 2-10 M Per

104

[REDACTED] Furthermore, as has been reported to the Bureau, [REDACTED] has reported that these articles are being written by TAGOE in response to criticism of CARMICHAEL by BPP spokesmen.

It should also be noted that to use quotes which are derogatory of the BPP would necessitate editing and quoting out of context. Since this is done by writers such as PAUL DELANEY in the article appearing in the "New York Times", edition of 11/30/70, WFO is of the opinion the use of material of this nature, which carries the by-line of the writer, is much more effective than the use of articles spreading the concept of Pan Africanism which in the long run may prove to be more appealing to black people than the philosophy of the BPP.

To illustrate the above point, the last article prepared by FRANTZ TAGOE is attached hereto.

WFO has noted several articles in the 12/4/70 edition of "The Hilltop" which can be used much more effectively in the "Cointelpro-Black Extremists" case than those written by TAGOE and appropriate recommendation on these articles are being prepared by WFO.

Pan-Africanism vs. Panth

Article

By Frank Tappan

(Fourth in a four-part series)

The action of the news conference that dealt with the Palestinian-Israeli conflict was a poor display of double standards. The Panthers, according to the Minister of Defense, reiterate their support for the Jewish people who have for the past 22 years been expelled from their land by international Jewry which is linked to the left by the reactionary white power structure of the United States of America. Yet the Minister hesitates to defend the Party against alleged charges of antisemitism. He goes on however to confess that "as a matter of fact some statements could be cited where some members of the Party has made some statement in regard to the Jewish people which would be interpreted as anti-Semitic. But these were isolated incidents, but these were isolated incidents."

Now, everyone knows that both the Arabs and Jews are supposed to be from the same Semitic stock. Why then should they be treated differently? If he is accused of anti-semitism for supporting that portion of the stock that vociferously complains the vast majority of the revolutionary elements - in this case, the Arabs? However, it is clear from the above quote, that the "white radical friends" referred to are Jewish Zionists who at first pose as liberals but in fact are racists in sheep's clothing. It is not enough for the black Panther Party to scream about freedom in America. What it should start shouting Black people about is the fact that liberals who turn themselves into the people for the kill. It is these liberals who call themselves "white radical friends" of Black people who all the way down history, have never lived up to "the friendship agreement". If nothing at all, the Minister of Defense should be reminded that the greatest enemy of Marxism-Leninism is liberalism and never the two shall meet. In short, liberalism is the protector of capitalism and fascism and the Party can take some

pointers from Chairman Mao's thoughts on how to combat liberalism.

Furthermore, for the Minister of Defense to suggest that "morally perhaps the Jewish people can make a case for separatism and a Zionist state based upon their religion for self-defense," means a clear violation of the scientific analysis of religion as contained in Marxism-Leninism. Let's ask ourselves, What is so moral about Zionism - a religious concept that is racist, imperialistic and capitalist? Can capitalism, racism and imperialism be made to appear morally justifiable by a mere juggle of words; or does the need for self defense make aggressive religious intolerance revolutionary - and capitalism and its attendant ill, morally just? Such reasoning should not be allowed to confuse the real issues involved in the struggle.

Nationalism should be given its correct definition and it must be made clear that without nationalism there cannot be internationalism. Internationalism only means the coming together of different nationalisms with their specific cultural and geographical peculiarities but all having a common interest in world peace and the freedom and happiness of mankind. It must also be emphasized that conforming to the deality of nature and the dialectic materialist concept of a man, there is what may be called (a) revolutionary nationalism and (b) reactionary nationalism. Unfortunately however, towards the end of his press statement Brother Huey confused nationalism with reaction without any qualification and added that the United States has proved this to be so because "it used nationalism to rape the world and dominate everyone else." The type of nationalism that the US used is reactionary nationalism and Zionism uses the same type of nationalism.

The futile attempt by the Minister to clear the Party of charges of anti-semitism can only lead to the complication of the already precarious situa-

tion of the exiled Panther leaders in Algeria - a country that is unreservedly against Zionism and the international Jewish conspiracy. Algeria above all is Pan-Africanist in outlook and recently served as host to the recent successful First Pan-Africanist Cultural Festival at which the Panthers fought so hard for recognition.

Finally, Brother Huey tells us that "we have a moral right to choose separatism, to move into a separate state just as the Jewish people have that moral right. But we realize that United States imperialism will not allow us to separate and live side by side with US imperialism ... in a separate state in North America in freedom". Obviously, the notion that the Brother is putting forward for Black people are limited indeed. No one needs to be reminded that the real, proper and morally justifiable home of the Blackman in America is Africa. Anyone who in attempting to deal with the situation of the Blackman and fails to deal historically and realistically with Africa is degrading the people and himself. To talk about solving the Blackman's problem in America by merely transforming that society and then going into a ghettoistic to decide which way the people want to go, is sheer folly. It sounds like subscribing to Brother Dick Gregory's joke about transplants.

Since it is possible to let for a whiteman to have a dead Blackman's heart transplanted into him it is equally possible that in the future a whiteman (America) who has lost a leg in a serious accident, can have the leg of a dead Blackman (the Kneegrow) grafted onto his body. Who will deny that the new creation will move about in a different way - hip on one foot and live on the other. The fact will however remain that America will always be the whiteman. Come back home, Brother Huey. Pan-Africanism is the only wise and scientific course to our salvation.

(Continued on Page 8)

ENCLOSURE

110-44006-214/106

Pan-Africanism

(Continued from Page 8)

Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah says in his latest book on the Class Struggle in Africa - "The total liberation and the unification of Africa under an All-African socialist government must be the primary objective of all Black revolutionaries throughout the world. It is an objective which, when achieved, will bring about the fulfillment of the aspirations of Africans and people of African descent everywhere. It will at the same time advance the triumph of the international socialist revolution, and the onward progress towards world communism, under which, every society is ordered on the principle of - from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.

100-111111-111111

12/22/70

airtel

To: SACs, New York (157-6024)
San Francisco (157-601 - Enclosure)

From: Director, FBI EX-119-448006) -2140
REC 85

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS

ReNYairtel to the Bureau December 14, 1970, a copy of which is enclosed for San Francisco.

New York is authorized to send the proposed handwritten letter as set out in referenced airtel to Black Panther Party (BPP) National Headquarters, Oakland, California. You will insure that mailing of this letter cannot be traced to the Bureau.

Recipients will advise the Bureau of any tangible results of this letter.

(8)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

NOTE:

Considerable internal criticism and disciplining of East Coast BPP leaders have resulted from the failure of the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention, Washington, D.C., November 17-19, 1970. Proposed letter to BPP National Headquarters by New York is designed to further aggravate the internal dissension among BPP leadership. The exact meaning of the salutation "Omalyo" is unknown and is not in the Swahilian dictionary; however, it is believed to be a form of the Swahilian verb "ona" which can be used as a greeting.

MAILED 8
DEC 22 1970
COMM-FBI

- Tolson _____
- Sullivan _____
- Mohr _____
- Bishop _____
- Starnes, C.D. _____
- Callahan _____
- Casper _____
- Conrad _____
- Felt _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Tavel _____
- Walters _____
- Boyers _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

97 DEC 30 1970

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

WCS
BPP
1/2
BPP

F B I

Date: 12/14/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
 FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (157-6024) (P)
 SUBJECT: COINTELPRO-BLACK NATIONALIST
 RACIAL MATTERS

ReButel, 12/7/70, captioned as above and Bu airtel,
 12/3/70.

It is proposed that one copy of the attached letter be mailed to BPP National Headquarters at 1048 Peralta St., W. Oakland, Cal. It is further proposed that it be handwritten rather than typed to lend an air of authenticity.

Omaiyé Bloods,

I recently attended the revolutionary fiasco staged by "Big Idiot" [redacted] in Washington, D.C. as part of a delegation from Columbia University, NYC. The Panthers, I thought, had it all together and knew where it was at. [redacted] and that buffoon [redacted] had everything screwed up in Washington, D.C.

[redacted] told us that Huey Newton was responsible since he delivered an incomprehensible speech at NYC Community College shortly before the proposed convention and had disillusioned many brothers. [redacted] claimed flatly that Newton was crazy and that he, [redacted] would no doubt be blamed by the leadership on the West Coast as responsible for the convention's failure.

Revolutionary justice would require that the pig [redacted] be held accountable since such mass confusion could not have just happened: it had to be planned.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
 OTHERWISE.

Student Afro-American Society
 Columbia University, NY
 Mar EX 11 Tuten

2- Bureau (RM)
 1- New York (43)

DEC 23 1970

(4)
 1- Supv. #43

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

RACIAL INT. SECT.

N 157-6024

I'm mailing this letter to headquarters since every time we have contacted your NYC Chapter nobody knew anything and everything was all balled up.

Mr. [REDACTED]

Mr. [REDACTED]

1 - [REDACTED]

OUTSIDE ENVELOPE

12/22/70

Airtel

To: SACs, Detroit (157-3214)
San Francisco (157-601)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) - 113

**COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS**

ReDEairtel 11/14/70 with copies to San Francisco.

The letter proposed by Detroit in referenced airtel has merit. However, it is believed that Black Panther Party (BPP) National Headquarters would probably discount receipt of a number of such letters as work of the authorities.

The Bureau feels this letter, with a few minor changes, will have the best potential if mailed from the San Francisco area to a select group of BPP chapters with subtle indications therein that it was written by a National BPP functionary presently in disfavor, such as [REDACTED]

The unsigned letter should be sent to several major BPP chapters or National Committees to Combat Fascism (NCCF), preferably in areas where BPP Supreme Commander Huey P. Newton has visited recently and/or areas from which BPP delegations attended the recent Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention.

It is assumed that chapters receiving the letters will probably report them to BPP National Headquarters. However, the desired results are:

1. Such a provocative letter will disenchant some BPP members or supporters in the addressee chapters.

2. The subtle indications in the letter that it was

MAILED 24

DEC 22 1970

COMM-FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

SEE NOTE ON PAGE TWO

Tolson
Sullivan
Mohr
Bishop
Brown, C.D.
Callahan
Casper
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Tavel
Walters
Soyars
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

97 DEC 30 1970

~~Airtel~~ to Detroit and San Francisco
Re: Cointelpro - Black Extremists
00-448006

written by a National BPP functionary will further aggravate the internal dissension among BPP leadership.

San Francisco is instructed to make the necessary changes in Detroit's proposed letter; and submit the letter to the Bureau for approval with any observations, along with a recommended list of addressees.

NOTE:

Considerable internal criticism and disciplining of some National BPP functionaries have resulted from the failure of the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention, Washington, D. C., November 17-19, 1970. Proposed letter, to be resubmitted by San Francisco for approval, will be designed to throw suspicion of authorship on BPP functionaries and to further aggravate the internal dissension among BPP leadership.

FBI

Date: 12/14/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, DETROIT (157-3214) (P)

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RM

ReBuairtel to Boston, etal, 12/3/70.

Detroit proposes preparation of a letter such as appears herein addressed to the BPP Central Committee. Copies of this letter to be furnished to select field divisions for simultaneous mailing to BPP headquarters. Copies of letter should be prepared individually in each field office to effect appearance of having been typed by separate and distinct chapters. This proposed letter is as follows:

Who needs additional Panther rhetoric blaming "the pigs" for that abortion at Washington during the Thanksgiving weekend? Hundreds of true Panthers have been watching for months the way the heads of the party have been turning the whole movement into something just to line their own pockets. Since the convention at Philadelphia, there was plenty of time to get the Washington thing together. And the regular members in each chapter got out and got the people in the community to sign up for the D.C. thing and we rapped hard about the need for their support. We got the people together and we were counting on the central staff to have the administrative part of the thing taken care of. But never was there any signs coming out of central that anyone was doing anything positive other than shooting off their mouths. In Washington, they waited until the last minute before even trying to get a place to hold the convention.

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - San Francisco (Info.) (RM) EX-113
2 - Detroit

(6)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

11 DEC 16 1970

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

The money would have been no real problem because there are too many people out there who are willing to come across with the necessary funds to support the convention. But everyone was too busy running his mouth and trying to show how big he was to get down to the basic details of organizing.

HUEY NEWTON decided to make speeches around the country and when we tried to sound him about one conference he knew absolutely nothing about what was actually going down. And concerning his speeches, if he had stopped to check the people out after he finished one of his talks, he would have learned that he takes four hours to say something that could be said in 10 minutes and which would be better not said at all. The people didn't relate to him at all because they could tell he did not even understand what he was saying. He was making up words, stammering, stuttering, and just rambling about with no sense of direction or purpose in his talks. Check it out. The people came out to hear him the first time to see what he and the Panthers are all about - he couldn't get these same people out again if he were paying them to listen.

Right on. And what does it mean to the hundreds of lower level Panthers when HUEY can come into a city and collect thousands of dollars and then split without even acknowledging our efforts and our work which we do all year long? And how bad is it when HUEY can bust into town with his woman and lay up in a \$30.00 a day hotel room while we are trying to convince the masses of the values and merit in self-sacrifice for the continuing struggle?

And what kind of "revolutionary people" are those white freaks who outnumbered the black people in Washington. The party won't be the same as they continue to be associated and to influence our actions. Check it out - where are the majority today of those same whites who a few years ago while they were in college were telling us blacks that they were going all the way with us? Where are they now? They got their college degrees and are now working with big companies drawing fat salaries and they sit in their 20 story glass office buildings and look out in the street at us still fumbling and they just laugh to themselves. All we really meant to them was a way of them "doing their thing" for a semester or two - just for the hell of it. They are today 100 per cent a part of Amerikka and you better believe they're not about to give up anything to help black people destroy that system.

114

The Panther thing was good from the start - and it is still good. It is just those of you at the top who are attempting to negate the proven value of the principles of democratic centralism and are becoming a part of the problem rather than leading the way to its solution.

We are going to expose certain of you for what you are. Not in a way as to destroy the Panther Party as such, but to destroy those few self-centered niggers who have prostituted our efforts as fellow Panthers. We will show you what can be accomplished through real organization. We have already learned how to work together in getting this manifesto together. It is a shame that we have to waste valuable time cleaning out our own house before we can get to the real business of Pantherizing the people.

As we start to get our own local things together and get rid of the non functioning so-called "leaders" you will have a chance to decide on an individual basis just which of you want to continue the struggle with us, and we will let you know if you are qualified. Then we, as the real vanguard of the true Panther concepts will deal with those found lacking by using the necessary means. Consider this well for we are saying what we mean and mean what we say. We are truly THE Black Panther Party.

1
1
1

12/21/70

Airtel

51-112

To: SACs, Los Angeles (157-4054)
San Francisco (157-601)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) - 2138

REC 8

COINTELPRO - BLACK NATIONALISTS
RACIAL MATTERS

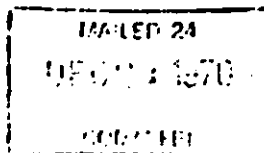
ReBureau airtel to Los Angeles and San Francisco, 12/14/70
and San Francisco airtel to the Bureau 12/14/70.

The Julian Walker article from the "Berkeley Barb" of 12/11-17/70 submitted by San Francisco appears to be suitable for fictitious mailing to Eldridge Cleaver, Black Panther Party (BPP) Minister of Information in Algeria.

However, the fictitious letter to Cleaver approved by referenced Bureau airtel for mailing at Los Angeles should be sent promptly as approved without the article suggested by San Francisco.

San Francisco will prepare a letter to Cleaver with fictitious signature using the Julian Walker article as a basis for the letter and will submit it to the Bureau for approval.

(8)



NOTE:

Los Angeles has been authorized to send fictitious letter to Eldridge Cleaver in Algeria criticizing BPP Supreme Commander, Huey P. Newton, for failure of Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention, Washington, D. C., 11/17-19/70. San Francisco suggested clipping from underground newspaper accompany this letter. The approved letter will not be delayed to include the clipping and San Francisco is instructed to prepare a new letter for approval based on the article.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11/16/01 BY 116

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

F B I

Date: 12/14/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL (REGISTERED)
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - BLACK NATIONALISTS
RACIAL MATTERSReLAairtel 12/3/70, proposing letter to ELDRIDGE
CLEAVER in Algiers.Enclosed for the Bureau and Los Angeles is a
photostat page 3 of the "Berkeley Barb" 12/11-17/70, con-
taining an article by JULIAN WALKER critical of the
Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention (RPCC).Bureau may desire to give consideration to having
a copy of that article accompany Los Angeles letter to
CLEAVER. In the event Los Angeles is not able to locally
obtain a newspaper copy of the article, San Francisco will
furnish an original.

- 1-8054
- (2) - Bureau (Enc. 1) (RM)
1 - Los Angeles (157-4054) (Enc. 1) (RM)
1 - San Francisco

(4)

NOT CONTAINED
IN
OTHERWISE.

PFC 8

10 DEC 16 1970

2138

7-1-1
FBI
SECTION

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

that I talked with Huey's singularity. His voice understanding. Many are feeling disgust with this man's needs of the people fell in love

was fresh in our minds.

At the next constitutional convention more communication and organization will be needed within the Black Panther Party as well as the Revolutionary Peoplethere. Communication on an overall level is needed to avoid having small

Michigan.

No more waiting for official spokesmen to lead us. We, individually, are our leaders; for we are the people and the power belongs to the people. We must not be afraid of each other but seize the time together.

'DEAL'--NO APPEAL

ed the trial politi-

explained to HARB
pped a deal once
made her point.
of eight charges.
convicted on char-
ing the peace and
a, she agreed to
another charge of
peace. Five other
en dropped.
d that more trials

would have been interesting, but that she was afraid of being convicted on every charge and serving several years.

Anita sees the deal itself as a victory.

Although the Coffield-Roger trial has come to a surprisingly quick end, repercussions are continuing. Eric Mankin, a Good Times reporter, went to court Thursday facing charges of contempt of court, interfering with proceedings of

court, and resisting arrest.

Mankin was busted in the courtroom a week ago when Judge Brunn cleared the court and Mankin asked to stay but did not have press credentials with him.

Mankin reports his lawyer Mal Burnstein in confident, but who knows?

A Iso, SDS is building for another anti-KOFA campaign in the spring, according to Anita Roger.

JAIL A GENERATION

AC

ched a new front
Draft!

operation with the
thousand supporters

sonal commitment

shown up for in-
duction, VMC

to handle even
stance movement
00 committed in-

important and has
fragmentation, and

raft. Responders--
uses to be jailed."

This is a Pledge not a Petition--Understand that Before you Sign, My Signature on this pledge means three things:

- I feel that the present draft system in America is a violation of my constitutional rights and/or simply immoral.
- I pledge that, when fifty thousand draftable men have signed pledges like this, I will return my draft card to my local or national resistance headquarters where it will be forwarded with the other returned cards to the proper authorities. I pledge that after that time I will cease to cooperate with any type of draft system in any way.
- I recognize that I am in no way immune from Federal prosecution either for resisting the draft or conspiring to resist the draft.

NAME

ADDRESS

PHONE

Vietnam Moratorium Committee, 15 14th Ave, 10th Fl.,
N.Y. 212-691-9450

structured army -- it was very difficult to deal with people on a personal basis. Everything came down unfortunately in the form of a directive or command.

The Panthers themselves understand this and I think are trying to get us together in the best they can.

with the general dissatisfaction of the people in not having workshops, I was told that whoever wanted to could set up a workshop but nothing official was announced. A few groups did make workshops but apparently made no effect on the convention. Programs

Many people were impressed by the sincerity and honesty of the people who were soft and un- people who were gratified by the sensitivity to people. Many

ANITA & VIC COP A

Anita Roger and Vic Coffield are ready to go to jail in January

for their roles in the SDS campaign against ROTC last spring.

selves and turn cal.

WHERE'S THAT BODY??

Coffield was sentenced to six months for resisting arrest and Roger was sentenced to a year for two counts of disturbing the peace and one count of resisting arrest. They are not planning now to appeal.

The sentencing came Wednesday after a three-week-long trial. Coffield and Roger defended them-

that she had c she felt she ha She faced a tota

After being c ges of disturbi resisting arres plead guilty to disturbing the charges were th Anita explain

Unable to come up with any new leads to the possible murder committed by the pigs at the anti-Ky Battle of Nob Hill, Chris Mosher of the San Jose Medical Resistance has been asked to help the National Coalition Against War Racism and Repression in their investigation of the piggery.

"I only got two calls in response to the HARB article," Mosher said, "and one of them said that if I ever came to San Francisco again the job would be finished on me."

Evidently a reference to the fact that Mosher was purposely struck by a police car as he was giving emergency aid to the man who appeared to be dead.

He will be in the city to confer with the Coalition Monday.

"I don't know what to think," Mosher said, "I am supposedly bound by law because of my medical training to come to the aid of anyone who is hurt. I want to find out if I am protected by the same law if I merely help someone."

THEY CAN'T

"They Can't Jail A Generation" says V

The Vietnam Moratorium Committee has launched the war--a Spring Offensive to Repeal the Draft. They are calling for all supporters of non-draft to sign a pledge. The nation-wide goal is 50 million by January 31, 1971.

They have been asking youths to sign "a personal pledge to refuse to be inducted."

In Oakland, 50% of those called have not even signed, of the remaining 50%, 11% have refused to sign.

"This shows the inability of the government to organize draft resistance. With a draft resistance consisting of anywhere from 100,000 to 1,000,000 individuals, our chances of success are great.

"Until now the system has convinced us we are placed us on the defensive through isolation, intimidation.

"It is time we take the offensive to defeat the system. They can't jail a generation if that generation resists. The suggested pledge appears below:

THE PLEDGE

IN WA

by Julian Walker

About 2,000 revolutionaries gathered at the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention in Washington, D.C. for mass confusion.

The order of the day was rumors. There was no central center for information. Indeed the Panthers themselves were giving conflicting reports.

After some time, I realized that the people from the Bay Area were the only ones that had their heads together.

We left for Washington D.C. with the understanding that people from every state had made their own local constitution like the regional conference in Berkeley and all were going to iron out minor differences and make a national statement.

Unfortunately, none of the states that I talked to had any definite printed constitution, and had only a vague idea of what they wanted.

The program for Saturday mentioned nothing about workshops much to our surprise but stated that the "new constitution" would be read by Huey P. Newton. The revolutionary people were very much irritated that the constitution was pre-written. However, this dissatisfaction was not expressed openly -- but like everything came by way of rumor.

It was instructive to me that many people at the convention were fearful and distrustful of the Panthers but were gathering together in the cause of unity.

The Panthers themselves were wanting to serve the people but because of their very nature -- a

But there is a definite gap in communication between the Revolutionary Peoples and the Panthers.

The Panthers are, to me, not as organized as they could be. When Howard University could not be secured, the Panthers had no alternate plan, consequently, -- confusion reigned. The scheduled program was not adhered to, and many people merely brooded and mulled about. Some of the people distributed leaflets and talked to the general public educating them on the importance of the convention.

The Panther members were very busy -- their main function would up as street policemen, keeping the people off the streets so cars could pass through St. Stephens Church. This in turn kept the D.C. police from entering the convention to do so. However, as the job became harder, an unnecessary tension built up between the Panthers and the People.

St. Stevens Church, where it took place on Saturday was so crowded that loudspeakers had to be set up outside the church. There was disorder and dissatisfaction, which the establishment press played up in a big way.

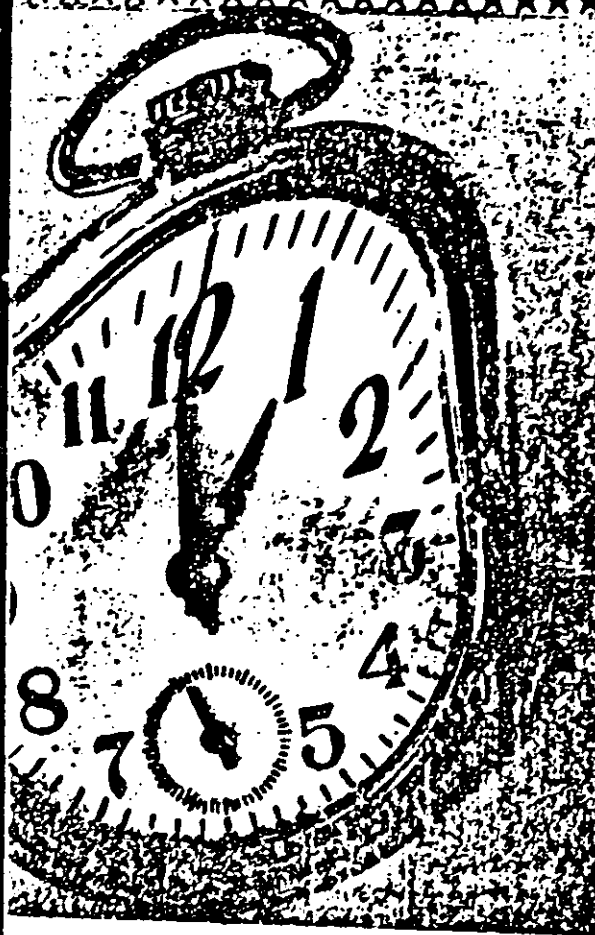
The Panthers themselves, were unable to account for the reading of the unmade constitution, and were unaware of what should be done. Finally, the leaders concluded that the constitution that was going to be read was not the final draft but only basic guidelines that were set forth in Philadelphia.

When I presented the Panthers

were being printed shops planned, many people b

Saturday night Newton spoke of read. Huey was at not getting and indicated cause of our dis

ASHING



ed later with work-
but by this time
d left in disgust.
it when Huey P.
constitution was
s very pissed off
oward University
at that was the
city.

with his acceptance of good criti-
cism.

Early Sunday morning rumor
had it that the whole function of
the convention had been changed
to a "mobilization drive." People
were preparing to leave who had
not already left. Huey's promise
of liberating Howard University

groups of fearful people sending
rumors between themselves. May-
be the next convention should be
held either here in Berkeley or
in some place like Ann Arbor.

FBI

Date: 12/18/70

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

Via _____

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (157-3587)
SUBJECT: [REDACTED]
RM
(OO:Atlanta)

CARBON COPY

ReBuairtel to Atlanta, 11/12/70 captioned
"COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS RACIAL MATTERS".

For information of Dallas, consideration is
being given to possible counter-intelligence activity
against captioned subject and other SNCC personalities.

[REDACTED] (Dallas 157-1583) currently
incarcerated at the Federal Correctional Institution
(FCI), Texarkana, Texas.

Dallas is requested, provided it can be discreetly
done, to determine from records of FCI, Texarkana, the
number of visits made by [REDACTED]
and the frequency of her correspondence to him since he
was received at FCI on 1/28/70.

③ - Bureau

(1- 100-448006 (COINTELPRO) (RM)

3 - Dallas (RM)

3 - Atlanta (157-3587)

(1- 157-4547 COINTELPRO)

(1- 157-2118 [REDACTED])

(9)

NOT RECORDED

152 DEC 23 1970

57 DEC 30 1970

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

20089 - 157 - ORIGINAL FILED IN 157 - 182

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

December 21, 1970

Airtel

ST-103

1
1
1
1

To: SAC, New York (157-6024)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) - 2137

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS

ReNYlet with enclosures dated 12/14/70.

Counterintelligence proposal suggested in relet is not being approved at this time.

The Bureau notes New York's suggestion in this matter is not clear as to the specific target of this counterintelligence proposal nor the benefits to be derived insofar as the Bureau is concerned.

New York is instructed to advise specifically regarding the above in order that an appropriate judgment may be made in this matter.

(7)

NOTE: New York has recommended the mailing of letter to all members of the Third Venceremos Brigade, whose addresses are available. The letter was allegedly written by a disgruntled black currently residing in Cuba and decrying racial discrimination in that country. This letter would be mailed from New York City as an enclosure to a letter over the typed signature of [redacted]

[redacted] letter, as proposed, would also indicate a copy of the disgruntled black's letter was being furnished to the Cuban Government's officials in the United Nations. New York is being requested to clarify intended purpose and/or target of this counterintelligence proposal.

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Tolson _____
Rallies _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
DeLoach, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

97 DEC 30 1970

Handwritten initials and signature

Handwritten initials and signature

123

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (157-6024)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO-BLACK EXTREMIST
RACIAL MATTERS

DATE: 12/14/70

Enclosed for the Bureau are two copies of a letter from a supposed black militant smuggled out of Cuba by a member of the Third Venceremos Brigade, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED], with her husband. She was, according to [REDACTED] member of the National Committee of the Venceremos Brigade and acted as a leader.

[REDACTED] have both reported charges of racial discrimination against Cuban authorities by various elements of the Third Venceremos Brigade. The enclosed letter is marked "Obscene" since it contains certain four letter words and combinations thereof in common usage by so-called revolutionaries today.

It is recommended that the letter itself be attached to a cover letter reading as follows:

Venceremos Brigade
Post Office Box 634
Cathedral Station
NY, NY 10025

To: All VB's

From: National Committee
Venceremos Brigade

Compatriots,

2- Bureau (Encls. 2) (RM)
1- New York (43)

REC 74

DEC 17 1970

ST-103



[REDACTED]
NY 157-6024

The attached letter was hand carried by me out of Cuba with the Third Venceremos Brigade. A proud and truly revolutionary black brother gave it to me in confidence at the cement factory outside of Camaguey, Cuba on October 5, 1970. He requested that it be distributed to Brigade members and their friends upon our return to America.

In light of our common experience with [REDACTED] etc. and those discriminatory practices we all witnessed in Cuba, I believe Third World people will recognize and applaud the elements of truth contained in the brother's letter. He also told me that so far the Cubans have been delaying intentionally his application to leave Cuba and travel to Algeria.

A copy has been furnished to the Cuban Government through its mission to the United Nations at New York. It is hoped that they may realize that while we of the Third Venceremos Brigade may applaud the concept of revolution, we deplore the practices of the revolution and the discrimination against Third World people which we found to exist in Cuba today.

Revolution and Peace,
[REDACTED]

The above cover letter and the enclosed obscene letter will be mailed from NY to all members of the Third Venceremos Brigade whose addresses are available.

October, 1970

Brothers:

Cuba is now my country. I selected it last fall when I fled the United States to avoid racist prosecution on charges trumped up by the mother-fucking pigs.

Cuba is no paradise for the black man, although it may appear so from the United States. Here the black man supposedly exists in an open society where there is a genuine respect for his proud heritage. This is just more bullshit.

Cuba is no utopia and it is self-evidently true from my observation, that the Cuban honkies continue to hold each and every powerful position in government and industry from Fidel Castro to Jose Silva. No matter how benevolent the system claims to be to blacks, we must be placed in positions of responsibility immediately. This must be done if the Cuban revolution is to have any meaningful application to us.

What is needed in Cuba is a revolution within a revolution for the black man. He must be permitted the opportunity to utilize his abilities to their fullest degree. Since the black man in Cuba is the victim of a honkie orientated Spanish cultural hang-up, he must be taken from the cane fields and labor camps in proportionately large numbers and exposed to the richness of his African heritage in a classroom. On Mississippi plantations the honkie used fear; here they use sloganism and cultural commissars to prostitute the black man and drain his last ounce of strength for the "revolution".

All this Marxist-Leninist bullshit (they were both honkies), is ridiculous when you realize that Eldridge Cleaver was under house arrest in Havana. There are still niggers in Cuba and it doesn't make you feel any better to work for a socialist government practicing sloganism if you're still "choppin' cotton" for honkies.

I risked my black ass to get to Cuba and now the mother-fucking honkies here are kicking it.

"Lasima Tushinde Mbilashaka
Cubana"

(We shall conquer without
a doubt in Cuba)

[REDACTED]

126

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

December 18, 1970

Airtel

1
1
1

To: SAC, WFO (157-1292)

REC-49

From: Director, FBI (100-448006)

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS

Re WFO airtel 12/15/70, copy enclosed San Francisco.

Bureau authority granted to forward anonymous letter to Howard University (HU) student newspaper, "The Hilltop." You may enclose with this anonymous letter a copy of an article in the 12/5/70 issue of, "The Black Panther," prepared by the Black Panther Party (BPP) leadership criticizing HU administrators and students.

Take usual precautions to insure letter cannot be traced to Bureau. Advise Bureau and interested offices of positive results.

Each issue of the HU student newspaper should be reviewed for critical articles of the BPP since HU students are beginning to publicly speak out against the leadership and the aims and purposes of the BPP.

The aggressive action being taken by your office to drive a wedge between the BPP and responsible Negro students and Negro leaders is noteworthy.

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Brennan, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____

1 - San Francisco (Enclosure)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

Airtel to SAC, WFO
COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
100-448006

NOTE:

WFO has prepared anonymous letter in an attempt to capitalize on current dissension between BPP, HU students, and administrators. This dissension began when Huey P. Newton cancelled his speaking engagement in September, 1970, at HU after the University refused to pay a demand for more money for the speaking engagement. Dissension heightened when administrators, with backing of the student leaders, refused to allow BPP to hold Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention (RPCC) at HU. The anonymous letter highlights the items of dissension, and letter is signed "Concerned Students of Howard University." The letter sets out the RPCC has been exposed as a gigantic failure but the BPP would like to place the blame on HU. This proposal is a good opportunity to drive a wedge between students at HU and the BPP. The anonymous letter will also have as an enclosure an article that appeared in the 12/5/70 issue of "The Black Panther," the BPP newspaper. This article, prepared by the BPP leadership, attacks HU as a "tool of this racist and fascist American Government." The article calls upon "people" to liberate HU.

Transmit the following in _____

Via AIRTEL

FBI

Date: 12/15/70

(Type in plaintext or code)

(Priority)

TO:

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM:

SAC, WFO (157-1292) (P*)

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS

ReWFOairtel, 11/24/70.

Enclosed for the Bureau is one copy of an article from the 12/5/70 issue of "The Black Panther" found on Page of Howard University and students of that institution. WFO requests Bureau permission to send a copy of this article to "The Hilltop", official Howard University student newspaper, as an attachment to the following anonymous letter:

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

The Black Panther Party has screwed Howard University again! Just last September, Roy Allen, Project Awareness Chairman, alerted Howard students as to the true nature of Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party when Newton refused to speak to the black brothers and sisters of this university unless paid the exorbitant sum of \$1,500 after having agreed to speak for \$1,000.

2 Bureau (Enc.1)
1 WFO

REC-49

100-448006-2136

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

AIRTEL

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

DEC 22 1970

129

Huey baby preferred to speak to a bunch of honkies at a honkie institution rather than to his black brothers and sisters because he could make a few extra bucks to line his pocket.

At that time, several of us, as concerned Students told Huey what we thought of him. -906

Now, as can be seen in the article from the December 5, 1970 issue of The Black Panther which we attach, Huey Newton and the Black Pussy Cats have once again thumbed their noses at Howard University.

The students of Howard University have been made to look like ignorant black fools attending a racist institution. Why this attack on Howard and its black students? The students of Howard University were thinking and acting "BLACK" when Huey Newton was scratching first his head and then his ass trying to figure a way to get out of jail. Huey is no Johnny On The Spot in the black movement, he's a Johnny Come Lately.

Why the attack then on Howard University? The answer to that is easy. Huey Baby and the rest of the Black Panther Party left the planning of the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention in the hands of a bunch of dumb "niggers" and white queers. Now that it has been exposed as a gigantic failure, Newton has to find a scapegoat to keep from looking like the damn fool he is. What better place to lay the blame than to Howard University.

Remember this, however; before asking Howard for the use of its facilities, Newton tried every white university in the area as well as the Armory. Only when he was turned down at all of these places did he come to the black brothers and sisters for help. When we agreed to help he tried to rob the university by offering a mere \$1,000. Had he spoken here when he promised, he could have paid at least \$2,000.

WFO 157-1292

To hell with Newton and his "Right On". We said
in our last letter protesting Newton's failure to speak
at Howard University and we say it again: _____ Huey
Newton! _____ the Convention and _____ the Panthers.

Concerned Students of Howard University

Statement by The Black Panther Of The Hqs of The The Revolutionary People

The function of Howard University as an educational institution from the beginning was such that it had no other alternative but to be a tool of this racist and fascist American Government.

Wasn't Howard University recruited as the tool of black people? This is a question that has been asked countless times. The answer to that question is rooted in the fact that Howard University was born out of the racist slave master's desire to implant in the minds of the Black children the "ideological poison" which is commonly peddled off as "education". But even more important than the afore-mentioned reason, Howard University was designed to mold in fact the slave as a human, obedient, Black human being, a person who would willingly and willingly dedicate their entire lives towards working to help the racist slave master to keep the Black domination. Historically this has always been done to Black people in America by attempting to convince Black people that the "sacred and inalienable rights of freedom, justice, and equality could only be attained by following the guidelines laid down by the slave master." Moreover, the slave master sought to use their Howard University products as models of emulation for other Blacks.

Howard University's refusal to have the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention is consistent with their lack of positive involvement in the Black community of Washington, D.C. They have sat high up in their " ivory tower " and looked down upon oppressed and exploited Black people with arrogance and contempt. Because Howard University has denied the people the right to peacefully assemble, does not mean that

it should be violent. It should be sure that the sanction and document. Howard

its total service Nixon and the

The initial statement of Howard University Party for the Revolutionary People's Convention began with no accommodations would be made. That they never intended to have a campus for the Black Convention. No time did the representatives of the matter were discussed. President of Howard University.

A fee of \$100.00 University officials for a three time that only a to be paid in at Howard University entire amount.

On Wednesday check for \$100.00 claiming that the group was demanding special messenger. An official representative rather by inform

The fascist

138

War Party On The People's Attempt Power Structure To Crush The Constitutional Convention

and as a center of power. One can see the denial came about with the use of the fascist and racist government. They are trying to deny the rule and confidence in the leadership of the ruling class elite.

As of negotiations between the officials and the Black Panther Party of their facilities to have the Peoples Constitutional Convention things to determine what would be needed to house these officials of Howard University to allow the people the use of the Revolutionary Peoples Constitution can be seen in the fact that at present the officials talk with representatives of the Black Panther Party. Instead of discussing with Dr. Anderson, Vice President Affairs and J.E. Clark, Treasurer.

\$24.05 was demanded by the school for use of three campus buildings for a period. We were told that a portion of that sum would have been paid. However, three days later, the officials demanded that the fee be paid in advance.

On October 25, 1976 a cashier's check for \$24.05 and a notarized letter of balance due would be forthcoming to Dr. Clark's office by the school.

Some were seen to go directly to the Black Panther Party, but the members of the 'mass media' ruling class, clique of the 'Amer-

ikkkan regime' is fully aware of the threat that the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention poses to their colonial rule. In view of that, they have acting through their Negro faculty administration at Howard University denied the people the use of that facility as the Convention site.

Contrary to the plans of the fascist ruling class clique and their hounding dog the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention will not be stopped.

We call for a general mobilization of the masses for survival. We will hold our Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention on liberated territory in Washington, D.C. We call upon the people of the community to liberate Howard University and to make that institution serve the needs of the community. We call upon all oppressed people and all progressive forces here in 'Amerikkka' to criticize and make their criticism heard by radio, television, and newspapers. We call upon the communities of the world to unite with us and make us heard in Washington, D.C. The demands and desires of the people will be heard.

The mobilization will last as long as is necessary for us to have our Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention in a 'liberated community.' Following the example laid down by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Peoples Republic of China who have all liberated their communities.

Mobilization for survival will set the stage for 'intercommunalism.'

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

1283

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

DEC 8 1970
WJM

TELETYPE

NR 003 SF CODE

1:03PM URGENT 12/8/70 MAH

TO: DIRECTOR (100-448006)

BOSTON

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)

Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Brennan	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Walters	
Mr. Soyars	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

COINTELPRO DASH BLACK EXTREMIST, RACIAL MATTERS.

Counterintelligence Program - Black Nationalist - Hate Groups

DECEMBER SEVEN LAST [REDACTED] ASTERISK

REPORTED [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] HAD RECEIVED INFORMATION THAT DEC. SIX SEVENTY ISSUE OF "BOSTON GLOBE" CONTAINED A CRITICAL ARTICLE CONCERNING NEWTON AND THAT NEWTON WAS NOT AWARE OF THE ARTICLE.

SOURCE INDICATED THE ARTICLE MAY HAVE APPEARED IN THE MAGAZINE SECTION OF THE PAPER AND MAY HAVE BEEN EDITED BY [REDACTED]

BOSTON REVIEW DEC. SIX SEVENTY ISSUE "BOSTON GLOBE" AND IF ARTICLE SUFFICIENTLY DEROGATORY, REQUEST BUREAU PERMISSION TO FORWARD COPY ANONYMOUSLY TO HUEY P. NEWTON CARE OF BLACK PANTHER PARTY, ONE ZERO FOUR SIX PERALTA, OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA.

END

EX-113

REC-45

100-448006-2135

10 DEC 22 1970

EBM FBI WA CLR

56 DEC 24 1970

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

MR. SULLIVAN FOR THE DIRECTOR

CC-MR. BRENNAN

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 12/18/70

FROM : SAC, KANSAS CITY (100-12448) P*

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

90-Day Progress Letter

Re Bureau letter 9/11/70 to Kansas City and
Kansas City letter 10/2/70 to Bureau.

Instant letter is being submitted a few days
before Buded, due to the imminent holiday season.

There is no pertinent information to report at
this time as a basis for proposed counterintelligence action.

As previously stated, Sons of Malcolm (SOM) had
been not only practically inactive since May 1970 but
its headquarters at 1507 East 18th Street, Kansas City,
Missouri, have been padlocked and unoccupied since early
November 1970, undoubtedly due in part to the disappearance
at that time of [REDACTED] (and his common-law wife [REDACTED])
[REDACTED] head of SOM.

Indications are that the [REDACTED] have fled the
U. S. and may be in Algeria. The two or three other indicated
possible former members of SOM in the Kansas City area are
not indicated as having engaged in militant or significant
activity in recent months, and particularly since [REDACTED]
disappearance.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

EX-115

REC 25

100-448006-2134

2 Bureau (RM)
2 Kansas City

10 DEC 21 1970

RACIAL INT. SECT

56 DEC 28 1970

Buy Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



12/18/70

Airtel

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

To: SAC, WFO (15X-1292)

REC 18

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) - 2/33

COINTELPRO - BLACK NATIONALISTS
RACIAL MATTERS

ReWFOairtel and enclosure 12/15/70, copy of which is enclosed for Springfield.

Authority granted for WFO to send anonymous letter as set out in referenced airtel. Letter should be prepared on unwatermarked bond paper and steps taken to insure that the Bureau is not identifiable with the preparation or sending thereof.

1 - Springfield (Enclosures - 2)

(8)

NOTE:

COINTELPRO is recently approved designation for counterintelligence program.

United Front (UF) of Cairo, Illinois, an organization recently involved in severe racial disturbances is headed by [REDACTED]. The national office of the Protestant Episcopal Church has funded this organization in the past, including \$50,000 for the year 1970. It is felt letter being authorized, which points out to the presiding Bishop, the nature of this organization, may be instrumental in having these funds cut off from this organization.

Copy of reWFOairtel and enclosure being sent to Springfield as that office is office of origin for the UF.

DECLASSIFIED BY 6080

ON 4/2/77

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF *delivered*
DATE *12/18/70*

MAILED 8
DEC 18 1970
COMM-FBI

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Hirshman, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Rm. _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

DEC 30 1970

Wings
at 130

F B I

Date: 12/15/70

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Brennan
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Casper
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Walters
Mr. Soyars
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, WFO (157-1292) (P*)

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS.
RACIAL MATTERS

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF _____
DATE _____

Reference WFO airtel, 12/14/70.

Enclosed for the Bureau is one copy of a statement by
LEON PERRY, a Negro, who is Public Information Director, Governor's Office of Human Resources, Chicago, Illinois, which is critical of the Reverend CHARLES E. KOEN and the United Front of Cairo, Illinois.

WFO is of the opinion that a well written letter to the National Office of the Protestant Episcopal Church, as well as the the _____

_____ may well be successful in persuading the Episcopal Church to withhold further funding of the United Front of Cairo, Illinois.

WFO proposes that the following letter be sent to the _____

EX-105

National Office of the Episcopal Church.

REC 18/100 - 448006-2133

Washington, D.C.

December , 1970

ENCLOSURE

② - Bureau (ENC. 1)

1 - WFO

18 DEC 18 1970

ICC Sent Springfield

97 DEC 20 1970

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

Per _____

DECLASSIFIED BY 6080
ON 4/2/77

131

WFO 157-1292

[REDACTED]
The Protestant Episcopal Church
815 2nd Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10017

Dear [REDACTED]

While in our nation's Capital on business, my wife forwarded to me a copy of a statement by LEON PERRY, Public Information Director, Governor's Office of Human Resources, Chicago, Illinois.

After reading this statement, a copy of which I am enclosing for your information, I must admit I became deeply concerned.

As a member and a Vestreymen of one of the largest downtown Episcopal Churches in Chicago, I am aware that the Episcopal Church funded the United Front of Cairo in the amount of \$50,000.00 for the year 1970.

As a close follower of the recent Episcopal Convention in Houston, Texas, I am also aware that a member of the United Front of Cairo was given an opportunity to speak before the convention. I can only assume that this is a prelude for further funding by the Episcopal Church.

As a result of the funding of the Front this past year, many members of the Episcopal Church cut their pledges, thus forcing a cut of funds for local parish programs as well as funds for National Church programs. I am well aware that the church must minister to all sorts and conditions of men but I am not persuaded that we must fund groups that resort to violence in order to obtain their objectives.

[REDACTED] as you can see from his statement, is a black man and would have no reason to make statements regarding Reverend KOEN and the United Front which are not based on fact.

WFO 157-1292

Indeed, his statement appears to be a well documented and, the circumstances, restrained statement concerning the situation in Cairo, Illinois, as it exists and not as Reverend KOEN would have us believe.

I am persuaded, and I am sure you will be persuaded if you will but take the time and trouble to document the authenticity of Mr. PERRY's charges, that the Episcopal Church can find more worthwhile organizations to fund than the United Front of Cairo.

It is also deeply disturbing to me that, at the present time, anyone who disagrees with the Church's National Program is immediately regarded as being a racist. I want to assure you that I agree with most of the Church's program and am convinced much good can and will come of such a program if it is well directed and run on a sound basis. I disagree only with funding groups which advocate violence.

Because I do not wish to be branded a racist, I am not signing my name to this letter. I ask you, however, for the good of our church, to withhold funds from the United Front of Cairo. The Church's National Program was conceived in faith and is a worthy program which must continue if we are to live together as brothers; however, I am sure the Episcopal Church will have little trouble finding a more worthwhile organization to fund than the United Front of Cairo.

Yours in Christ
A Concerned Episcopalian

As a Black man, I've always been reluctant to engage in debate with another Black, relative to the actions or feelings of a white person--The same holds true for questioning the leadership of a Black in public. Only a situation of the most extreme circumstances could make me change that routine. But, the Black Community of Cairo, and indeed all of Cairo suffer from the willingness of Rev. Charles Koen to sacrifice them on the altar of his own of his own personal ambition. Backed up by weak kneed co-leaders from the Black Community and wild eyed white fanatics from around the country -- Koen has embarked on a course of outward para-military aggression, in hopes of forcing a reaction from local and state officials, that he can use as ammunition for massive nationwide fund raising efforts. I reject as being utterly untrue and without merit, Koen's ridiculous allegation that Governor Ogilvie has acted in any manner, other than in the best interest of the citizens of Cairo.

We fully recognize and applaud the many injustices that were brought out by the B.U.F. during those difficult and dangerous early days of the movement. However, I charge that some of its leadership has lost focus on the people of Cairo and have now turned their thoughts to national glory.

In April of this year, these consolidated the various "front" groups throughout the state under his banner, in a Springfield caucus. Now, he has succeeded in projecting himself to a national "Generalissimo" as head of the newly formed, but sadly mis-informed National Black United Front.

Can there be any doubt as to his real motives, when he has encouraged Black residents of the Pyroplid Court to make false fire alarms and then have some misguided black brothers lay in wait with guns to fire on the firemen?

Why has he resisted all attempts to negotiate the far, even under the auspices of the Governor's Office of Human Resources? Why has he cast aside proposals without even a second glance, when they were, to say the least, basis for bargaining? Why has he, continued to "up the ante" as the price for negotiation, a style very reminiscent of our enemies abroad?

Let us now respond to the dastardly lies Koen has been spouting, by quoting from a report issued by the Cairo B.U.F. in making its progress and accomplishments during the latter part of last year.

"It has been five months since the United Front has been in operation. At this time we should review the accomplishments of the United Front and assess what needs to be done.

Through the efforts of the United Front the following has been accomplished for the Black People of Cairo:

1. 160 low income jobs have been given to the poor of Cairo through the Department of Labor.

2. Governor Ogilvie has opened 25 good paying highway jobs to black people of Cairo with preference given to households where the need is large.

3. Jury trials for blacks have been stopped in Alexander County until a public jury selection has taken place. The Attorney General Office has effected this through efforts out forth by the United Front.

4. A regional branch of the Attorney General's Office has been set up in Cairo to investigate discrepancies regarding police practices and the Alexander County Court System.

5. \$250,000.00 has been allocated in state funds to Cairo for planning a research on a housing program with the hope that \$5,000,000.00 will be awarded by the Federal Government for 250 housing units.

6. \$32,000.00 has been given to Cairo in a federal grant for four recreation programs: two in Cairo, one in Future City and one in Elmhurst. This is an initial one year grant.

CONFIDENTIAL

100 444-006 2133/40

continuation of Leon Perry's statement:

7. \$75,000.00 has been offered by the Illinois Law Enforcement Commission for Police Community Relations Programs.
 8. Pulaski-Alexander County Development Corporation has begun working on economic development for the Bi-County area. \$75,000.00 O.E.O. grant is being sought to hire a professional staff for economic development to the two county area.
 9. A Small Business Association loan has been made available to establish a black owned and operated business.
 10. The Cairo Arts Council has been set up and funded to develop a knowledge of black heritage and culture for the people of Cairo.
 11. The Bi-County Progressive, Business, and Professional Men's Assn. has been instituted for black enterprises in Pulaski and Alexander Counties.
 12. Gov. Ogilvie has repealed an 1875 law which allow the formation of vigilante groups. The White Hats under threat of court action by the Attorney General's Office disbanded.
 13. The Attorney General's office is seeking financing for a special Public Defender and a Legal Aid Society.
- The State of Illinois is offering a tentative training program for the Cairo police department. It must be pointed out that the training was geared toward police community relations and not combat field training. During the training period for the Cairo police department, when the Illinois state police had charge of the peace keeping duties in Cairo, the town was quiet and without incident.
- The financial assistance for the establishment of a Public Defender's Office, that was mentioned in Keen's report, has been received by the state, through the Illinois Law Enforcement Commission.
- There is also, the increasing efforts of our Black Resources people to seek solutions to the racial issues of Cairo. Our Director, Paul J. Brown, who was appointed by the Governor as his personal representative in Cairo, has expended much time and energy meeting with both sides separately and jointly and with other concerned parties in an attempt to find a just solution.
- In July of this year, while Keen and his "fanatical clubber of fear" were beating the bushes, with their continual charges against the Governor, the Illinois Housing development authority granted \$40,000.00 for first years administrative costs for a B.U.F. sponsored Housing Corporation.
- While Keen was using the Chicago Black Media, to denounce a "Federal and State Fund freeze" the state was working with federal agencies to get over \$50,000.00 granted to the lawyers committee, so that the poor, including the front, could have adequate legal representation. During that period, the joint federal state teams resulted in a Black owned business being relocated from Chicago to Cairo -- a comprehensive health packaged for Cairo -- a madame project for the area residents -- and other minor things.
- We're satisfied that the record of Governor Ogilvie and his administration will stand inspection by any fair minded person or group.
- In conclusion, let me say -- the Governor's first responsibility is, and must be, the safety of the citizens. It's sure that there is no need to defend his actions, in dispatching state police to Cairo, in view of the "orgy" of violence that was taking place. Any sane person, Black or White would applaud such action as being absolutely correct and timely.
- Since Gov. Keen has now realized his dream of being a national figure -- is it not now correct and proper for the Black community to choose themselves another leader. One whose entire mind, time and attitude is geared to the problems of Cairo and its people???

CONFIDENTIAL

141

ROUTE 1 ENVELOPE

SAC, Mobile (157-2578)

1-6-71

Director, FBI (100-448006) 2132

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS

1 -
1 -
1 -

Reurlet 12-15-70.

Authority denied to initiate counterintelligence proposal set forth in referenced letter. This denial is based on the fact that you can accomplish the same results through an anonymous telephone call to the pastor of the church thereby eliminating the necessity of involving a ghetto informant in counterintelligence matters. Bear in mind that the use of informants and sources in counterintelligence activities creates a potentially embarrassing situation should the informant at some future time reveal his participation in such activity.

MAILED 24

JAN 5 1971

COMM-FBI

Authority is granted to make an anonymous telephone call to [REDACTED] concerning this matter.

Bureau files contain no additional pertinent information concerning [REDACTED].

NOTE:

SAC, Mobile has requested counterintelligence measures designed to disrupt Nation of Islam (NOI) activities in Montgomery, Alabama. A Bureau source has advised that NOI meetings are being held at the Bell Street Baptist Church, Montgomery, Alabama, without the knowledge of the pastor of the church and Mobile believes the pastor would object to the NOI activity at the church and order their discontinued use of the facility thereby disrupting NOI activities in Montgomery. The Mobile Office wants to inform the [REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

Authority denied for reasons stated above. Authority granted to make anonymous phone call as this can be performed without danger of embarrassment to Bureau.

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Brennan, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Rm. _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

97 JAN 11 1971

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Handwritten initials and signatures: "he", "of", "er", "142"

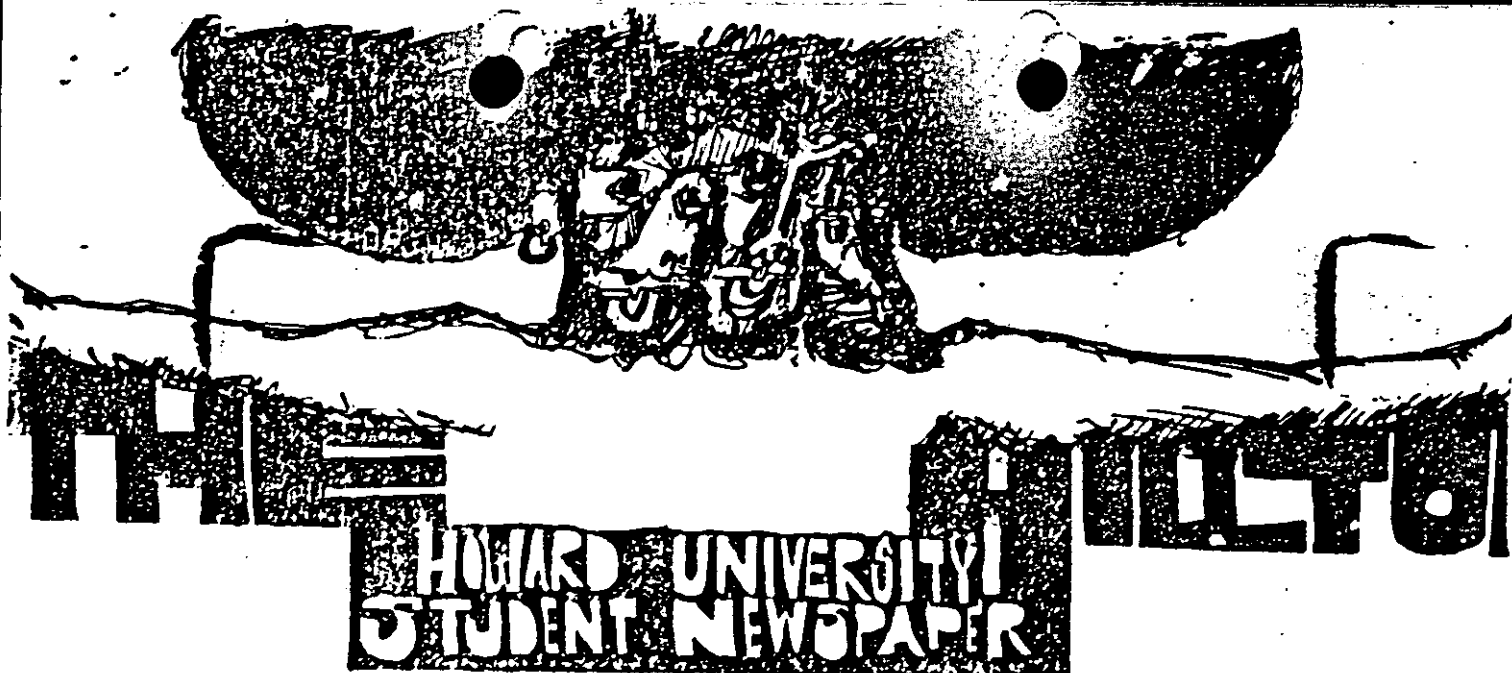
Memorandum to Mr. C. D. Brennan
Re: Counterintelligence Program
100-448006

Attached airtel instructs offices to anonymously mail reproduced copies of article to selected newspapers, black organizations, and colleges and universities having black students and black student organizations.

ACTION:

If you approve, attached airtel will be sent authorizing anonymous mailings in such a manner they cannot be traced to Bureau.

See WA [initials] [initials] ✓ WCF
SP
4



Vol. 53, No. 10

Howard University, Washington, D. C.

December 4

Soph Class examines recent Panther rejections

What is the Black Panther Party doing to its Black community? Are they expressing unity or disunity among Black People?

On September 25, 1970, Huey P. Newton was invited by Project Awareness to speak at Howard University for \$1000.00. This was agreed upon and later rejected after the Black Panther Party decided that Howard University could afford more. It would seem that Huey P. Newton would want to come and speak to the D.C. community for free. If a leader has information and a program for his people to adopt, why is it that the people should have to pay for it. This has never happened in the history of any revolutionary country.

On November 15, 1970, members of the Panther Organization in D.C. were asked to speak at Meridian Hall. Five minutes before they were scheduled to speak, a Panther member came and informed the residents that there were orders from National Headquarters that no one was to leave the Panther office, therefore no one could come to speak. If no one was supposed to leave the office why did they come and tell us that? Why didn't they call us? Do the Panthers think Black people are fools?

November 20, 1970, Huey P. Newton was scheduled by the Sophomore Class of Liberal Arts to speak at Howard. Six days before he was to speak, the coordinator (Raymond Johnson) recieved a call which informed him of the fact that the Sophomore Class had to move his speaking time up from 8:00 P.M. to 1:00 P.M. He was told that Huey P. Newton had to speak at 8:00 in Virginia. It is now said that he spoke at a White university. Did Huey P. Newton put a Black University second to a white one? Four days before he was to speak the coordinator contacted the Black Panther Party Headquarters. He was then told that Huey Newton's speaking engagement was cancelled. The reason being that, they got the impression from a Howard student that if Huey's vision came, no one would come to see him (the admission was free), and that Howard University could not afford the \$500.00 honorarium to pay him. The coordinator then asked them to re-schedule it. Later, the opinion of Sophomore Class officers and other student leaders was to cancel it.

The coordinator was later told by a Panther that the \$500.00 for Huey was "not shit," and that Georgetown University was paying him \$2500.00. We would guess that they had forgotten that Howard was premitting them to hold their convention here for

\$7,377.98 (They would have to pay the D.C. Armory \$10,000.00 a day). For that low cost Huey should have spoken here for free.

The Black Panther Party wanted us to pay the seven thousand dollars for their convention. Federal Laws states that federal funded school cannot fund political activities. The Panthers know this. Are the Panthers using Howard University as an issue to explode upon, only to gain recognition of their party? Is this unity?

The Black Panther Party has constantly attacked Howard University its students and Black Leaders. As Stockley, Howard has never attacked the Panther Party. Attacking in this manner would only divide Black People. This is a fatal step for any revolutionist.

Why won't the Panthers explain to the people their collision with SDS, their reasons for supporting the Gay Liberation, and Woman's Liberation movement?

When the Panthers hold a convention, why do more whites show up than Blacks? Who are the oppressed? We as Black people should analyze that closely, maybe those white boys know; something we don't.

We as Black People have a right to know the answers to those questions. If we are denied that right, then maybe it is true that the Black Panther Party is an organization existing only to exist.

The Sophomore Class

62

ROCE IN ENVELOPE

1/24/71

Airtel

To: SAC, Charlotte (157-6109)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) — 5157

COINTELPRO - BLACK ^{ST 112} EXTREMIST
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

RoCEairtel 1-5-71.

You are authorized to prepare and mail anonymous newsheet set forth in referenced airtel. Insure this mailing cannot be traced to the Bureau. Advise Bureau and interested office of positive results achieved.

1 - San Francisco

(5)
NOTE:

Charlotte has been aggressive in its program to disrupt the BPP in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. They have previously mailed anonymously under this program approximately 100 copies of a similar newsheet to appropriate residents in Winston-Salem attacking the leadership of the BPP in Winston-Salem. This newsletter belittles the present leadership at Winston-Salem for the inability to pay the BPP telephone bill, while at the same time holding grand delusions of offering to pay expenses of individuals traveling to Washington, D. C., for a conference. Also pointed out is the immorality of individuals connected with the BPP headquarters in as much as five single girls are currently pregnant. Charlotte will make mailing under usual precautions in effort to create additional opposition to the Panthers in Winston-Salem.

Tolson
Sullivan
Mohr
Bishop
Hennan, C. J.
Callahan
Casper
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Tavel
Walters
Soyars
Tele. Room
Holloman

97 JAN 22 1971

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-11-81 BY 60322
GTH/MLK

63

F B I

Date: 1/5/71

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6109) (P)

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMIST
RM (BPP)

Re Charlotte airtel to Director, 11/27/70.

It is noted that Charlotte has previously received Bureau permission to disseminate two news sheets through the guise of the "S. V. R.P.", both of which were critical of the current leadership of the Black Panther Party (BPP) group at Winston-Salem, N.C. Information from sources, the Winston-Salem, N.C., PD and other contacts in the black community of Winston-Salem, N.C., indicates that these letters, particularly when they point out mistakes or failures, cause the people of the community to cease supporting the BPP group.

The previous letters were directed toward finances, pointing out half of the \$.25 cost of each BPP newspaper was returned to California and subsequently there was a drop in newspaper sales per week from 2,500 to 1,500. In addition, some weeks they could not pay for their papers.

There appears to be no adverse reaction to fire on Police Department at Winston-Salem, N.C., at this time in connection with the fire at BPP headquarters, 11/27/70; therefore, Charlotte is requesting the following letter be approved:

(2) - Bureau (RM)
2 - Charlotte

ST-113

(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

1 JAN 8 1971

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6109

Winston-Salem, North Carolina
Black Community News Service
Volume I, Issue 3

**"NEWS OF INTEREST TO THE BLACK
CITIZENS OF WINSTON-SALEM**

"The S.V.R.P. is submitting the following bulletin to let the people of Winston-Salem know the truth about the pretenders on 16th Street who claim to be helping the People:

"Since they won't pay their telephone bill, the company removed the phone. There is no way to contact them in case of an emergency situation.

"Of the five or six girls who stay or work at the BPP Headquarters, only one, the wife of [REDACTED] is married. [REDACTED] is not pregnant, but all the rest are 'in a family way.' It appears that [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] are keeping up with everyone's homework but their own. Keep your wives, girl friends, and daughters away from that place!

"We have heard all this talk of the big Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention which was held Thanksgiving weekend in Washington, D.C. Panthers have been all over Winston-Salem, and for that matter, North Carolina telling everyone they would pay all expenses for anyone who wanted to attend. They are speaking of spending money for buses, trains, food, and rooms, when they are being evicted from their community center on Wilson Street for not paying the rent and can't pay their back phone bill. Their national leaders

2

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

65

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
CE 157-6109 (Priority)

must have the same delusions since the black officials at Washington, D. C., ask for their money in advance for use of Howard University buildings and shortly the convention was cancelled.

_____ has talked of traveling to Georgia, South Carolina, and Tennessee for the big failure known as the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention and attending staff meetings in New York. Maybe a lot of the money meant for the Convention and other things was spent on _____ and other leaders trying to be the 'Big Nigger.'

"A word of caution! Watch out for your women and money when in the presence of a fool who calls himself a 'Panther.'

"S.V.R.P."

The above letter is intended to point out the failures locally of the BPP and to continue to decrease their community support with the blame being placed on the now defunct Southern Vanguard Revolutionary Party (S.V.R.P.) of purged Panther _____

As in the past, if Bureau authority is received, Charlotte will mail the letter to addresses in the area of the BPP headquarters, Winston-Salem, N.C.. The newsletter will be reproduced on unwater-marked paper and mailed in plain envelopes with stamps affixed.

3

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

66

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1/13/71

RA
51
Airtel

1-
1-
1-

To: SAC, WFO (157-1292)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006)

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES

ADVISED BY ROUTING

SLIP(S) OF *deal asse fin dno*

DATE *1-2-71* *ESJ/192*

ReWFOairtel 12/29/70 entitled "Black Panther Party,
Washington, D. C., Chapter, RM."

Referenced communication set forth information that a recent outbreak of venereal disease had reportedly occurred among children in attendance at the Black Panther Party (BPP) Day Care Center, Washington, D. C. (WDC). A daughter of one of the BPP leaders was treated at Children's Hospital, WDC, and the treatment is a matter of official record at the hospital. Penicillin reportedly has been administered to all children in attendance as well as to adults exhibiting symptoms of the disease.

Review of referenced communication reveals the BPP, WDC Chapter, appears to be in a continued state of turmoil, with constant bickering among members.

WFO advise if District of Columbia health officials are aware of the reported outbreak of venereal disease among the children at the BPP Day Care Center. Submit recommendations for possible counterintelligence measures based upon recent occurrences at the WDC Chapter. This may be an opportunity to continue to drive a wedge between the reputable Negro citizens of the community and the BPP and its insidious behavior.

1 - San Francisco

REC-26

100-448006-2153

Tolson
Sullivan
Mohr
Bishop
Strommen, C.D.
Callahan
Casper
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Tavel
Walters
Woyars
Tele. Rm.
Holmes
Gandy

MAILED 8

JAN 13 1971

COMM-FBI

25 JAN 13 1971

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

DECLASSIFIED BY 6080
ON 4/2/77 *te/pt*

97 JAN 13 1971

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Artel to WFO
Re: Cointelpro - Black Extremists
100-448006

NOTE:

WFO submitted communication containing information received from technical coverage of the BPP, WDC Chapter. Information revealed an outbreak of venereal disease among children, and instructions are being furnished to WFO under Counterintelligence Program title to submit recommendations to take advantage of this latest incident. "Cointelpro - Black Extremists" is code name for "Counterintelligence Program - Black Nationalists - Hate Groups, Racial Intelligence" approved 10/30/70.

FBI

Date: 12/14/70

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, BOSTON (157-531) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS

RM

COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS

Re San Francisco teletype to Bureau and Boston, dated 12/8/70 and captioned as above.

Enclosed for the Bureau and San Francisco are two copies each of article on HUEY P. NEWTON which appeared in the magazine section of the "Boston Sunday Globe" newspaper on 12/6/70.

Article does not appear to be sufficiently derogatory to warrant its use as a counterintelligence measure.

1 - 206
2-Bureau (Encs. 2) (RM)
2-San Francisco (157-601) (Encs. 2) (RM)
2-Boston
1-157-1995 (HUEY P. NEWTON)

(6)

REQ 74

ST-100

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

18 DEC 16 1970

61 JAN 15 1971

Approved: _____

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

RACIAL

JAN 12 1971

69

By Jerry LeBlanc

Jerry LeBlanc, a West Coast free-lancer, likes to write about people.

HUEY Newton, wearing expensive tailored gray slacks with a wide leather belt, stood naked to the waist, a scar on his stomach marking the effect of a police bullet in 1967. Unshaven, having been up all night working on a number of projects including his memoirs, he was talking on the telephone, his flexed arm bulging mightily. He extended his free hand in welcome, peering at you suspiciously. After he hung up the phone, he disappeared, spending a half hour shaving, cleaning up, as though trying to postpone talking.

Finally he reappeared, donned a dark shirt, paced uncertainly, adjusted the music level of the hi-fi, and sat down. You're struck by the fluid movements of his powerful arms and legs, his furtive, alert eyes and sudden spits of anger. Then you realize, Huey Newton IS the black panther, an awareness that becomes reinforced later in the conversation by the way he paws and mauls his adversary with gestures, as well as words.

He is not upset by this observation. As Newton says, "The panther is a very dignified animal. It is not in his nature to attack anyone. But, when he is attacked or backed into a corner, he turns on his aggressor and destroys him, thoroughly, wholly, absolutely, and completely."

THE words come like rote, the mouthing of an almost ceremonial vow of vengeance, and indeed, the words are repeated regularly by Black Panthers and are as familiar to them as a Pledge of Allegiance.

"We intend to overthrow the United States government by force and violence," said the minister of defense

and supreme commander of the Black Panther Party. As he talked in a corner of the comfortable, middle-class apartment of leftist attorney Alex Hoffman at Berkeley, California, America's unofficial capital of unrest, Newton watched closely for any reaction of shock, adding, "Armed struggle is the only way."

Newton has been free on bail awaiting retrial on charges of killing a policeman. He believes he is a member of an endangered species. He seldom ventures outside the apartment, won't even stand on its balcony. He figures the police, or others, have other bullets to aim at him, and it is a fact that no one has been eager to write a group health and life insurance policy for the Black Panthers. Newton's eyes are soft but troubled—alert for sudden movement—and his voice is unexpectedly calm and low.

"I call what we are doing 'revolutionary suicide,'" he said, explaining, "That's suicide motivated by a desire to change the system or die trying."

"Ours is a war of liberation," he declared, sticking out his chin in a characteristic gesture of pride and stretching a hand to allay interruption. "The Black Panther Party represents the true interests of the people, so in a way it's not us who are suicidal, it's the American ruling class for having the audacity to think they can fight the people, a majority of the people."

question immediately on us, how can a geographically dispersed organization whose somewhat undisciplined ranks, scattered in squads of less than a hundred at distant outposts, actually hope to defeat the Establishment's overwhelming military, police and reserves? Especially since most of the Black Panther high command has either been exiled, shot to death or placed on trial?

With a grin tugging at the corners of his wide lips, Newton answered, "God is on our side." Baring his teeth and letting his laugh die in his throat, he added, "That's what they always say, isn't it? But it's true in our case. We've got The People on our side."

The People, capitalized. Newton is a Communist of the Maoist persuasion. "We have opened our first embassy in Algiers," Newton said, "and we have the support of the People's Republic of China, North Korea and North Vietnam, which is about two-thirds of the people of the world."

And, it is implied, millions of other oppressed peoples in other so-called non-liberated countries. He estimates that in these countries lies the power of an army of one hundred million to support his cause.

Is Newton saying that hostilities against the police have been ordered as a matter of policy — the initial skirmish?

"The Boston Globe
Sunday Magazine Section
December 13, 1970

100-448000-2152
ENCLOSURE
70

minishes of a long-range conflict?

"You have to keep in mind that the Black Panther Party is against violence," he responded. "We are in favor of the preservation of life. Each man's death diminishes us..."

Newton does not always look you in the eye when he talks. It's not because of evasiveness, but rather because he is searching inside his own mind, it seems, for the appropriate words. His soft voice makes it difficult to picture him bellowing inflammatory battle cries to

throng. His nose recedes slightly at the bridge and the point of it has a curious dimpled cleft.

"We've never advocated undirected terrorism," he said, with full recognition that the word 'undirected' altered his previous statement significantly. "But," he explained, "we do make a distinction between the violence of the aggressor and the self-defense of the victim. After the initiation of violence, a man has an obligation to do everything possible to preserve his life."

INTELLIGENT, capable and resourceful, Huey Newton could have escaped the ghetto himself and earned an above-average income with either brain or muscle. Instead, this soft-spoken young man, age 28, a one-time law and history student, son of a former Baptist minister, has

opted to declare war on the United States and lead an organization that strikes fear into so many average citizens.

His background doesn't really explain it. Born in Louisiana, near New Orleans, he was raised in the ghetto of Oakland, where his father quit the ministry and worked for a time with the county road department. There were seven kids to feed, three brothers and three sisters all older than Huey.

"We were poor. I mean we had to do without a lot of things," Huey explains, "but I didn't know it because everybody was poor and doing without things. Then when I went to school I could see that the whites had it a lot better. It was obvious that they were in a better financial situation."

Huey feels that it was not any one single incident, but rather the accumulation of incidents of life in the ghetto that made him, at an early age, start interpreting everything in terms of "we" and "they." The knife, the high-speed fist, the bottle of wine were as much a part of his growing up as schooling, in which he established some sort of local record for suspensions. It was his reputation that he would slug it out in any dark alley with any "dude"—a tough black—who tossed out a challenge.

At some point along the way, he recalls that he recognized the folly of black man beating black when he should be conserving his en-

ergy and strength to fight his natural enemies. It was a revelation of sorts.

ALWAYS at odds with Establishment ways, he studied at Merritt College in the San Francisco Bay area. "Just taking courses to satisfy my own interests," but took so many that he ended up with an associate arts degree plus a year of law school. Almost apologetically he said, "I never intended to get a degree. It was an accident."

In October of 1966, when the civil rights movement was wavering between non-violent compromise and militancy, he and former classmate Bobby Seale founded the Black Panther Party, scaring the wits out of their own neighborhood at first by advocating a gun in every hand but eventually recruiting enough believers to start counter-patrolling the local police, as shotgun-riding observers, to assure that Negroes' rights were observed.

"We intend to push the law to its limits," stated Huey, "and the Constitution clearly gives the people the right to bear arms." His Black Panther Party soared to national prominence when its members marched into conservative Governor Ronald Reagan's territory, invading the State Legislature itself, openly waving rifles and hand guns. They were loaded.

One night in October 1967, police stopped a car being driven by Newton. Shots were fired and two policemen fell, one dying and one

11

wounded. Newton, who fled from the scene with a bullet in his stomach, was placed on trial and convicted in what seemed to be an open-and-shut case, murder.

When he was picketed and chanted "Free Huey Newton," it seemed insane that even his own supporters could believe him innocent of the crime. On what possible grounds should he go free? Black Power leader Stokely

Carmichael expressed the view, "Brother Huey may or may not have wiped out that honkie, but at least it shows a progression. At least we're not getting executed for what we say; we're getting executed for what we do!"

But there must have been something behind the cries to free Huey; there could have been something to the charges of railroading, because last summer the California Supreme Court reversed the guilty verdict and Newton went free on \$50,000 bail.

BY now fully warmed up to the subject of revolution, Newton recalled a recent trip to the east. "I was in Brooklyn a couple of weeks ago—they don't stop me from going anywhere—and when I walked by these buildings, to me it looked like the Blitz, or Hiroshima. The fronts were crumbled out and you could look in and see people trying to live in this rubble. I saw kids with sores all over them and you know that if their parents don't get them off the streets after dark the rats will get them. When I see this kind of housing, and the malnutrition of children, amid all the affluence of middle-class America, that's why the Panthers view the actions of the ruling class and their agents,

the police, as an aggression against the people. A man has a right, obligation and duty to do everything in his power to defend himself against aggression of that sort."

Does that mean the opening shots have already been fired in the People's War? He bares his teeth again and there is a glint in his eye. He shakes his head and points. "Thou sayest it."

TO get to see Huey Newton was as difficult as getting to visit Castro in his mountain hideaway during the days when Batista still ruled Cuba. It involved negotiations on the local level, through the Black Panther headquarters in Oakland, and through lawyers in New York City. Once the arrangements are clearly understood, you can take the first step by visiting Panther national headquarters in Oakland.

In the ghetto around headquarters, black males cluster in front of the rundown liquor stores with cans of beer in their hands or pints of wine in their pockets. They sit in sagging automobiles at curbside or congregate on porches, stairways and at the entrances to dilapidated residences. The headquarters had been a private home before the Panther takeover. A proud wood sign out front designates the headquarters, and those who are not afraid of large dogs, or of being mistaken for policemen, a word the Panthers never use, can open the front gate with the assurance they are being watched from the windows and won't be harmed. Whites do not enter unless escorted, announced or well known and welcome. It is not a good

place for whites to take pictures of the outside, not even from the public sidewalks, nor to exhibit any undue interest in the place.

On entering, one sees why. In anticipation of attack, the Panthers are in a constant state of alert. A communication hookup links the outside to the inside and the door is not opened until identity and the nature of business is established. Behind the double-door entrance there is a second, sliding door of well-braced two-by-fours, with steel-bracketed bolts running across at bottom, top and center. Sandbags are stacked nearby. The need for such fortification has been demonstrated in numerous little wars, or raids, at Black Panther centers in many cities, among them Los Angeles, New Orleans, Portland, Detroit, Philadelphia, Toledo.

AT the desk in the main office, an attractive "sister," Sharon Williams, busies herself at the telephone, calling number after number on a list. Her conversation is animated and good-humored. "Right on," she says again and again, "Power to the people."

The bulletin board and stacks of pamphlets promote cause after cause. Free Breakfast for Schoolchildren. Educational meetings. Free the Soledad Brothers. Information. Schedules. Photos of one suspected informer, one suspected infiltrator. Watch out for these men. And there are photographs of children, a newborn message, a birthday thank you card. And slogans, like, Death to the Fascist pigs. Arm yourself. Seize the time. Revolution in our lifetime. Power to the people!

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: DECEMBER 15, 1970

FROM : SAC, MOBILE (157-2578) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Mobile letters to Bureau, 12/4/70 and 12/11/70;
Bureau letter to Mobile, 12/11/70.

[REDACTED] advised on 12/15/70, that he learned that [REDACTED] NOI member, had moved from [REDACTED] his wife has been relieved of her duties teaching kindergarten classes at that address by the owner. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED], and that the NOI meetings are no longer taking place at [REDACTED].

[REDACTED] further advised that the Montgomery School Board has learned of the Black Messiah Karate Club holding classes at the Booker T. Washington High School, Montgomery, Ala., and as a result, [REDACTED] has been prohibited by the School Board from holding any further classes there.

[REDACTED] had moved on 12/7/70, from [REDACTED] and he can no longer hold NOI discussion meetings at his residence.

[REDACTED] further advised that [REDACTED] had to discontinue holding Black Messiah Karate Club classes at the Booker T. Washington High School and that these classes have been disbanded due to the lack of a place to hold them.

[REDACTED] that [REDACTED] is holding NOI discussion and founding meetings currently at the Bell Street Baptist Church, Oak and Robinson Streets, Montgomery, Ala., without the knowledge of its pastor, [REDACTED], or its congregation. According to [REDACTED] this church was made available to [REDACTED] by [REDACTED] SI subject, Mobile Division, who is currently meeting with the NOI group. [REDACTED] has

② Bureau (RM) [REDACTED]
② Mobile (2-157-2578) (1-157-3405-SF2)
⑤ [REDACTED]

3 DEC 18 1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF [REDACTED]
DATE 12/15/70

2-157-2578, 1110
1/21/71
R.A. [REDACTED]

DECLASSIFIED BY 6030
ON 4/2/77

RACIAL [REDACTED] 143

MO-457-2578

[REDACTED] instructed [REDACTED] not to hold the meetings beyond 5:00 PM on Sundays in order that the pastor and the congregation would not learn of the NOI's use of their building.

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] has learned of the NOI holding meetings at the Bell Street Baptist Church and has furnished this information to the Mobile Division on 12/15/70.

The following Counterintelligence recommendation against the NOI group in Montgomery is being submitted in the light of the above developments:

[REDACTED] will be instructed to advise [REDACTED] of the surreptitious use of the Bell Street Baptist Church by [REDACTED] and the NOI. As a result of this, it is believed that [REDACTED] and the Bell Street Baptist Church congregation will insist that [REDACTED] and the NOI not use their church for future meetings of the NOI founding group. This will result in further disruption of attempts by [REDACTED] and the NOI to establish a NOI group in Montgomery, Ala.

With regard to [REDACTED] Bell Street Baptist Church, who resides at [REDACTED] Montgomery, Ala., the indices of the Mobile Division contain no derogatory information concerning him.

Bureau authority is requested to take above action.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 12/15/70

FROM : SAC, SEATTLE (157-721) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Bureau airtel to Alexandria, 11/10/70, entitled
"COUNTERINTELLIGENCE MEASURES, BLACK PANTHER PARTY, RACIAL
MATTERS."

I. OPERATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

Proposal mentioned in above airtel under consideration
of Seattle Office and list of appropriate individuals for
article by RIESEL being prepared.

II. OPERATIONS BEING EFFECTED

None

III. TANGIBLE RESULTS

None

IV. DEVELOPMENTS OF COUNTERINTELLIGENCE INTEREST

None

The next monthly letter will be submitted by
January 15, 1971.

2 - Bureau (RM)

2 - Seattle

(4)

EX-115

REC-88

6 DEC 18 1970

58 DEC 31 1970

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Mr.

Mr.

1 -

1 -

12/16/70

Airtel

To: SAC, San Francisco (157-601)

EX 102 REC 70

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) - 2130

COINTELPRO

BLACK EXTREMISTS

RM

ReSFairtel 12/8/70.

San Francisco is authorized to send the anonymous letter as set out in referenced airtel to Huey P. Newton, Black Panther Party (BPP) Supreme Commander.

Insure that mailing of the letter cannot be traced to the Bureau.

Advise Bureau of any tangible results of this counterintelligence activity.

NOTE:

Cointelpro is a recently adopted code word for Counterintelligence Program.

Considerable internal criticism and disciplining of East Coast BPP leaders have resulted from failure of Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention, Washington, D. C., November 17-19, 1970. Proposed letter to Huey P. Newton, BPP Supreme Commander, by San Francisco is designed to further aggravate the internal dissension among BPP leadership.

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Bronson, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

97 DEC 30 1970

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

FBI

Date: 12/8/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO
BLACK EXTREMIST
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Bureau nitel, dated 12/7/70.

San Francisco requests authority to mail anonymous-
the following unsigned letter to HUEY P. NEWTON, Supreme
Commander, Black Panther Party at Oakland, California:

"San Francisco

"Mr. Newton:

"Greetings from a white revolutionary who was
stupid enough to travel across the country for your
Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention.

"Big Man, The Washington Chapter of the BPP
and CIA deserve your thanks. It would have taken
the cooperation of all of them to produce the re-
sulting confusion. Perhaps you will make inquiry
about the absolute lack of leadership. Even with
Howard University unavailable, other sites could
have been utilized.

② - Bureau (RM)
San Francisco

(4)

REC 70

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

SF 157-601

LSB/crv

"Chaos of Friday was multiplied on Saturday. Only a small portion of those traveling to Washington were able to be present for your speech and the big majority of them was black male.

"Big Man's plan to liberate Howard University was a myth and we experienced a frustrated weekend with the Black Panthers making no real effort to liberate an all Black school.

"A great many people attended this convention hoping to form and discuss a constitution and ended up being dished preamble that was prepared in advance. There was even no effort to have the document approved.

"I hope that your future ventures will be sufficiently planned in order that your group can give some resemblance of being a vanguard group. If not step aside.

"You as supreme commander must be held responsible for this fiasco and it is due to your total incompetence for selecting stupid lazy niggers to do the job and you and your whole party have set the revolution back five years."

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 12/15/70

FROM : SAC, WFO (157-1292) (P*)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS

ReWFOlet, 7/8/70.

In accordance with instructions set forth in Bulet dated 3/4/68, the following data is submitted:

I. OPERATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

WFO has under consideration a plan whereby a letter signed "Concerned Howard University Students" will be sent to "The Hilltop", Howard University student publication, which will be critical of the BPP for recent statements made by that organization concerning the refusal of Howard University to allow the BPP to use the facilities of the University unless the BPP paid a sum slightly in excess of \$7,000.

This letter has been prepared and forwarded to the Bureau but no further action will be taken without prior Bureau authority.

WFO is also preparing a letter to the Episcopal Church, New York, which will enclose a statement by LEON PERRY, Public Information Director, Governor's Office of Human Resources, Chicago, Illinois, which is very critical of the Rev. CHARLES E. KOEN, Chairman of the United Front of Cairo. It is hoped a carefully prepared letter will influence the Episcopal Church not to fund the United Front as it did last year in the amount of \$50,000.

2 - Bureau
1 - WFO

REC-54

30 DEC 17, 1970

(3) 28 DEC 31 1970

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

Although the United Front is located in Cairo, Illinois, which is covered by the Springfield Division, it is believed by WFO the letter will be more effective coming from a section of the country somewhat removed from the scene which, in the past, has brought bitter recriminations from both sides of the community.

Plans regarding this action will be forwarded by separate letter and will not be implemented without prior Bureau authority.

II. OPERATIONS BEING EFFECTED

A flyer, written by Project Awareness, a Howard University recognized student group which invites controversial persons of national note to air their views before a student audience, was given to a Bureau Agent by a confidential racial source.

The flyer was very critical of HUEY P. NEWTON who set an honorarium of \$1,000 but then increased his demands to \$1,500 after his previous offer had been agreed upon.

With prior Bureau approval, this flyer was mailed out to some 33 black groups.

A counterintelligence leaflet prepared by the New Haven Office and approved by the Bureau was mailed out to 49 organization and/or individuals selected on the criteria of their involvement in the black power movement or their prestige in the community. The heading of this leaflet was: "Let's Compare the Ten-Point Program of the Black Panther Party With Like It Is".

Also mailed out during this period were an article appearing in "The New York Times" entitled "Jews Fear Anti-Zionism of New Left" as well as a column written by VICTOR RIESEL regarding the BPP.

WFO, with prior Bureau authority, also directed a letter to McBride's Variety Department Store on 11/24/70, which was critical of the policy of that store in furnishing clothing to the BPP.

III. TANGIBLE RESULTS

As regards the leaflet obtained by a source at Howard University which was mailed out on 10/12/70, [REDACTED] that the leaflet was posted on the bulletin board at Federal City College by the FCC Black Student Union. A BPP representative attempted to remove this material but was prevented from doing so by a Black Student Union representative.

The second item mentioned above was mailed out on 10/30/70; the article by VICTOR RIESEL was mailed on 11/18/70, and the letter to McBride's Variety Department Store was mailed on 11/24/70, thus insufficient time has elapsed for any tangible results of these operations to become known.

IV. DEVELOPMENTS OF A COUNTERINTELLIGENCE INTEREST

Of considerable interest is the recent announcement that a National Black United Front was created. It will be headed by the Rev. CHARLES KOEN of Cairo, Illinois, and Rev. DOUGLAS E. MOORE of Washington, D.C.

WFO will remain alert for suitable counterintelligence programs to disrupt this new organization.

Also of interest is the attack of the BPP on Howard University and the attitude of Howard students which seems to place a large majority of the students in support of University policy. WFO is preparing further action to take advantage of this situation in an attempt to drive a wedge between the BPP and the black student community.

ROUTED ENVELOPE

12/14/70

Airtel

REC-49

To: SAC, New York (100-161140)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) — 2128

COINTELPRO
BLACK EXTREMISTS
RM

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF declassification
DATE 4-2-77 USJ/c

Reurairtel with enclosures dated 12/7/70 captioned "Counterintelligence Program, Black Nationalist - Hate Groups, Racial Intelligence." Counterintelligence proposal recommended by New York is not being authorized by the Bureau.

The Bureau notes that information developed through coverage of the Black Panther Party (BPP) indicates clearly that New York Attorney [redacted] enjoys a confidential relationship with BPP leader Huey Newton and is involved in setting up a corporation in New York City which will serve as a conduit for funneling BPP funds domestically and abroad.

The Bureau is submitting instructions to your office with respect to the future handling of investigation concerning Hubell to exploit the above situation, and it is additionally felt that counterintelligence proposal submitted by your office could jeopardize investigative action contemplated in his regard.

New York is instructed to utilize instant caption in the future in submissions of counterintelligence proposals per instructions contained in Bureau letter to all offices dated 10/30/70 so captioned.

(7)

NOTE

Referenced airtel recommended mailing a letter containing a syndicated news article which appeared in the Washington Post, to BPP leader Huey Newton. The article criticizes Newton's current

NOTE CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

DECLASSIFIED BY 6150
ON 4/2/77 le/ha

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Herman, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Rm. _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

97 DEC 30 1970

Airtel to New York
Re: Cointelpro, Black Extremists
100-448006

NOTE: (Continued)

public appeal on college campuses and the letter, bearing the signature of a nonexistent BPP member, blames [REDACTED] for this situation. [REDACTED] is carried on the Security Index as a result of his former activities in the Communist Party, USA. Investigation in his regard is being intensified in view of his current association with Newton and the Black Panther Party.

F B I

Date: 12/7/70

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-161140) (P) [REDACTED] *LC*

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

ReNYairtel to Bureau, 12/3/70.

Enclosed for the Bureau are two reproductions of a column written by ROWLAND EVANS and ROBERT NOVAK which appeared in the 12/6/70 edition of the "Newark, N.J. News".

The column deals with HUEY NEWTON's failure to generate a response from college audiences before which he has appeared as a BPP representative as well as "his unexciting performance since release from prison....".

It is proposed by the NYO that a xerox copy of the above mentioned column along with a xerox copy of typewritten letter signed by a fictitious person should be sent from Oakland, Cal. as enclosures to a handwritten letter mailed from that area. The content of the aforementioned letter would be as follows:

The letter which would be handwritten and mailed from Oakland, Cal. to [REDACTED] would read as such:

[REDACTED]

The enclosed material has created quite a stir out here.

2 - Bureau (Encls. 2) (RM)
1 - New York (43)

1 - Supv. #43

REC-49

100-448006-278

12 DEC 1970

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

Approved: *JEN*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

*Airtel to NY
12/4/70 PEN:ng*

154

NY 100-161140

"I don't know you but as a student of the law I believe every man should have 'his day in court' and I don't think the Brothers will ever show you this letter.

"All Power to the People
A Friend of the Panthers"

The above described "enclosed material" would consist of a xerox copy of a typewritten letter to which a xerox copy of the EVANS and NOVAK column would be attached. The typewritten letter would read as follows:

"New York Chapter

"Brothers:

"This Fascist shit appeared in a New York paper this week and I know where the information came from.

"In New York City there's a [redacted] named [redacted] who does his blood sucking at [redacted] and is the Honky who told us he would incorporate the Party and handle Brother Huey's business interests in NYC.

"When this turd found out he couldn't make any money on the Party or Brother Huey, he started to sell information to the newspapers and to his Zionist-Pig friends at the Jewish Defense League.

"I think he is the one who gives the pigs information so they can vamp Brother Huey when he comes to New York and I also know that he has many friends in the NY Pig Department.

"Let Brother Huey know we are protecting his interests and will off the pig lawyers if we have to.

"All Power to the People
Brother Lumumba Boland"

NY 100-161140 [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED], was chosen as the target of the counterintelligence technique because his race, religious background and closeness to BPP operations makes him a logical suspect as an informer or source of information on BPP activities.

It is hoped that the above detailed plan would cause disruption, confusion and distrust among BPP members and their contacts.

NY would prepare all necessary material on this proposal for transmittal to SF if Bureau approval is granted.

The NYO will take no action on this matter without prior Bureau approval.

by HOWLAND EVANS and
ROBERT NOVAK

Washington

The elaborate campaign tour by Black Panther leader Huey Newton has found it in keeping with his unexcelled performance since release from prison Aug. 5 by court order.

Newton, who provided the Black Panther party with its battle cry of "Free Huey" during his imprisonment, had been scheduled for an extensive campaign spending tour this autumn as part of the unsuccessful Panther effort to gain a radical college-student following.

College groups were offered a package consisting of Newton, a rock group called the Lumpens (derived from Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver's reference to the lumpen proletariat), and a choral group called Freedom Messengers whose repertoire includes "Old Pig Nixon." Price tag for the package: \$2,500.

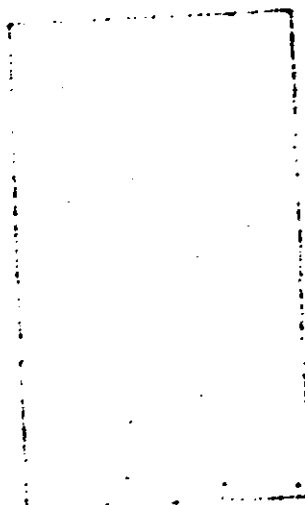
The show has been staged at Boston College, Michigan State, the University of Michigan, Oakland (Mich.) University, and New York City Community College in Brooklyn. But there have been more gripes than raves, more boredom than revolutionary excitement. Panther security men refuse to let anybody leave once Newton begins his two-hour talk.

Moreover, the Panthers have

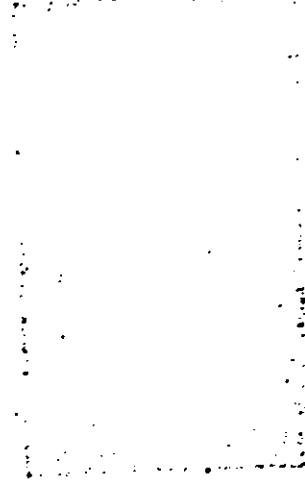
suddenly canceled appearances at Western Michigan University, the University of Virginia, and Howard and Georgetown Universities here.

This follows a long line of Panther setbacks on the college campus, including the failure of Howard's predominantly black student body to protest the university's decision not to let the Panthers use the campus without fee for their "revolutionary constitutional convention" last weekend. The basic source of Panther strength remains the bitter, alienated, and usually un-

employed youth of the black slums, not college students.



MARLOW COOK
Coming On Strong



HUEY NEWTON
Less Than A Sensation

100-448006-2/28
ENCLOSURE

157

Black Panther Party

HOWARD L. ANNA and
ROBERT NOVAK

Washington

The elaborate campus tour by Black Panther leader Huey Newton has fallen flat, in keeping with his unexciting performance since release from prison Aug. 5 by court order.

Newton, who provided the Black Panther party with its battle cry of "Free Huey" during his imprisonment, had been scheduled for an extensive campus speaking tour this autumn as part of the unsuccessful Panther effort to gain a radical college-student following.

College groups were offered a package consisting of Newton, a rock group called the Lumpens (derived from Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver's reference to the lumpen proletariat), and a choral group called Freedom Messengers whose repertoire includes "Okl Pig Nixon." Price tag for the package: \$2,500.

The show has been staged at Boston College, Michigan State, the University of Michigan, Oakland (Mich.) University, and New York City Community College in Brooklyn. But there have been more grins than raves, more boredom than revolutionary excitement. Panther security men refuse to let anybody leave once Newton begins his two-hour talk.

Moreover, the Panthers have

publicly rejected appearances at Western Michigan University, the University of Virginia, and Howard and Georgetown Universities here.

This follows a long line of Panther setbacks on the college campus, including the failure of Howard's predominantly black student body to protest the university's decision not to let the Panthers use the campus without fee for their "revolutionary constitutional convention" last weekend. The basic source of Panther strength remains the bitter, alienated, and usually un-

employed youth of the black slums, not college students.

MARLOW COOK
Coming On Strong

HUEY NEWTON
Less Than a Sensation

158

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 12/15/70

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (157-2209)

SUBJECT: COINTEL PRO-BLACK EXTREMISTS
RM

Re Buairtel to Boston dated 12/3/70.

Referenced Buairtel requested offices to analyze informant reports concerning the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention (RPCC).

Where information is available highlighting misfeasance or malfeasance of particular individuals involved in RPCC, recommendations were requested for utilization under captioned program.

Chicago reviewed reports of two sources who attended RPCC. There is no information contained in these reports indicating misfeasance or malfeasance on the part of particular individuals who attended.

In view of the above, no recommendation is being submitted by this office.

REC 83
EX-113

100 448006 - 2127

(2) - Bureau (RM)
1 - Chicago

11 DEC 17 1970

(3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

RACIAL INT. SECT.



DEC 29 1970 U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

159

ROUTE ENVELOPE

Airtel

12/18/70

To: SACs, Atlanta (Enclosure)
Cincinnati (Enclosure)
New York (Enclosure)
San Francisco (Enclosure)

1 - Mr. Atkinson

1 - [REDACTED]

1 - [REDACTED]

1 - [REDACTED]

From: Director, FBI (100-448006)
EX-113 10/2

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS

ReNYlet with enclosures 12/10/70.

Enclosed for recipients is a copy of the memorandum addressed to "All SNCC Workers" submitted by New York as an enclosure to relet but which bears slight alterations on pages one and two made at the Bureau.

Bureau authority is granted for Atlanta to prepare and mail copies of the enclosed Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC) memorandum and its enclosure to individuals and Black Panther Party (BPP) locations as recommended by New York. The memorandum should bear a date in proximity to the items' mailing. Atlanta should note, however, correct mailing address to be utilized in directing these items to the BPP in Philadelphia should be Black Panther Party, 3625 Wallace Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, while those to be directed to Eldridge Cleaver should be mailed to him at the address Boite Postal 118, Grande Poste, Algiers, Algeria.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

MAILED 21

DEC 28 1970

COMM-FBI

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

97 DEC 31 1970

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Herman, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Rm. _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

Airtel to SACs, Atlanta et al
COMTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
100-448006

Atlanta is instructed to insure reproductions and mailing of these items are handled in a manner to preclude tracing of this counterintelligence proposal to the Bureau.

Recipients should advise of positive counterintelligence benefits derived from this technique.

NOTE: New York has suggested mailing of a supposed memorandum prepared by the current leader of SNCC, [REDACTED] and addressed to "All SNCC Workers," to various BPP offices, leaders, and certain BPP apologists. The memorandum is to enclose an article which appeared in the 6/20/70 issue of "The Black Panther," as written by BPP leader Eldridge Cleaver, BPP fugitive residing in Algeria, criticizing SNCC leader [REDACTED] as a do-nothing revolutionary. The supposed SNCC memorandum not only defends [REDACTED] status as a revolutionary, but severely criticizes Cleaver as a coward living in exile while the revolutionary struggle is carried on at home by SNCC and [REDACTED]. The proposed memorandum submitted by New York has been altered at the Seat of Government to indicate the BPP article was only recently brought to SNCC's attention and to include a brief final statement indicating the SNCC memorandum was also being brought to the attention of Cleaver and the BPP organization. This counterintelligence activity is designed to further disrupt an already strained relationship between the BPP and SNCC.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (157-6024)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RM

DATE: 12/10/70

ReBulet to NY, 12/8/70.

Enclosed for the Bureau, Atlanta, Cincinnati and San Francisco are two copies each of a letter aimed at disrupting any relationship which might exist between SNCC and the BPP. It is recommended that mimeographed copies of the enclosed letter be prepared and mailed by the Atlanta office in view of Mohammed HUNT's residence in that city. Mimeographed duplication is recommended since SNCC's apparent poor financial condition would mitigate against any more expensive duplicating method.

The attachment to the letter (an excerpt from the BPP newspaper) will of course be xeroxed. The letter should be directed to the following individuals:

[REDACTED]
New York City, N.Y.

[REDACTED]
c/o [REDACTED]
Atlanta, Georgia

✓ Black Panther Office
1370 Boston Road
Bronx, New York

- 2 - Bureau (Encls. 2)(RM)
2 - Atlanta (Encls. 2)(RM)
2 - Cincinnati (Encls. 2)(RM)
2 - San Francisco (Encls. 2)(RM)
2 - New York

(10)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



NY 57-6024

✓Black Panther Office
45 B East Third
Mount Vernon, NY

✓Black Panther Party
153-22 South Road
Jamaica, NY

✓Black Panther Newspaper
1336 Fillmore Street
San Francisco, California

✓HUEY NEWTON
1048 Peralta Street
West Oakland, California

✓Black Panther Party
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
Algiers, Algeria

✓Black Panther Party
35 Sylvan Avenue
New Haven, Connecticut

✓Black Panther Party
2350 West Madison
Chicago, Illinois

✓Black Panther Party
~~1928 West Columbia Avenue~~ 325 Wallace St
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

✓Black Panther Party
2327 18th Street, NW
Washington, D. C.

STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

360 Nelson Street SW Atlanta, Georgia

MEMORANDUM

To: All SNCC Workers

From: Muhammad Hunt
Chairman, RPC

Attached is a reprint of an article in the Black Panther, Saturday, June 20, 1970, page 9, recently brought to our attention.

This article contains a senseless attack by Eldridge Cleaver on SNCC & brother Phil Hutchings, a vanguard revolutionary. Phil will assume the position of Director of International Affairs for SNCC upon completion of duties with the Third Venceremos Brigade.

Eldridge Cleaver, now enjoying a self-imposed exile, is an intellectual pimp. He believes that his Panther Pussys are the only relevant revolutionary group in Babylon.

SNCC disputes his claim of leadership and his right to lead.

SNCC has no quarrel with the revolutionary aspect of the Panther program and accepts their basic program as correct; however, we do dispute and detest the cult of personality created by certain Panther leaders about themselves. (Cleaver, Newton, Seale, et al).

While Little Phil, as Eldridge calls him, is in the vanguard of the revolution, Eldridge is safe and ineffective 4,000 miles away. When a revolution is being made the leadership consists of those who are fighting in the vanguard, NO MATTER WHAT THE RISK!

Where were Fidel, Che, Kim Il Sung, Mao Tse Tung and Patrice Lumumba when revolution was being made? They were with the people, not 4,000 miles from the front.

So, Mr. Moishe Tshumbe Cleaver, before you seek to criticize those of us who are engaged in making revolution in Amerikka, you must establish your right to primacy. You must show by example not exile, how to wage revolution. You must, in short, become a credible revolutionary.

100 442000-2126

164

SNCC believes strongly that the lackeys of the beast are as dangerous as the beast and the masses of blacks must be educated to recognize real leadership from the mere allegation of leadership on the part of certain charlatans.

SNCC accepts the challenge of revolutionary leadership and refuses to accept the criticism of Eldridge as valid.

Until Eldridge returns to the wilderness of North Amerikkka and joins in the day to day battle in Amerikkka we will continue to regard him as a coward.

Love and Revolution
Yours in struggle,

Muhammad Hunt

P.S. Our thoughts on this unwarranted attack are being directed to Cleaver and his Panthers across the country!

165

Black Community News Service

SATURDAY, JUNE 20, 1970

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

DEPARTMENT OF INFORMATION
STATION, CIVIL RIGHTS
CONFERENCE, 614-1126

But we should not be fooled or confused by all the weird changes that many people are going through these days as things get hotter. Many people spent the greater part of their lives calling for a revolution, and now that the violent phase of the revolution is unfolding, they throw up both hands and start going through a lot of liberal intellectual changes. Instead of getting down with it and helping to deal with these voracious pigs, these nopes find it more relevant to start splitting hairs and debating the fine points of what's wrong with the movement. In the past, they could not be forced to exercise their brains about anything. But now, when action is called for above all else, they suddenly develop a great interest in the fine points of the movement.

We are witnessing today nothing but the plain and simple cowardly coping-out of all these phony Black and White liberals and arm chair philosophers. There is only one question for these nopes to answer, only one hair for them to split, and I think it was well-stated by Brother Doug Miranda: Do we stick the master's tools or take the master's head?

Phil Hutchins' answer to this question seems to be: "We do neither of these things. We debate the issue until the master takes our heads."

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
DEPARTMENT OF INFORMATION
STATION, CIVIL RIGHTS
CONFERENCE, 614-1126

Phil Hutchins is the new Julius Lester with the same old shaky approach to writing sneaky articles about the shortcomings of the Black Panther Party. This little push is actually a joke. When SNCC had absolutely collapsed, had totally fallen apart at the seams, James Torman scraped around amongst the left-over Black hippies still relating to the name and past-glory of SNCC and fronted Little Phil off as the chief spokesman for a defunct organization.

As time goes by, the bourgeois nature of SNCC is thoroughly revealed by the stunts followed by the former members. Where are these loud-mouthed Black hippies now? Julius Torman, James Donaldson, Charlie... of them that have not... have... spirit...
ENCLOSURE

100-448000-2126 (ENCLOSURE)

166

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 12/14/70

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS

ReBulet to New York 12/8/70, concerning an alleged letter to SNCC chapters proposed by New York.

San Francisco is of the opinion the proposed letter is an excellent suggestion. Perhaps the matter of [REDACTED] sexual indiscretions could still be included by merely deleting part of first sentence in the penultimate paragraph of page two in order that the sentence stops after the word "Brigade". The letter therefore might merely intimate the relationship between [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] and might possibly have some counterintelligence value against both of these individuals.

REC-56

100-448006-2125

EX-103

6 DEC 16 1970

- 1 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - Atlanta (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-161140) (RM)
- 1 - San Francisco

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

RACIAL INT. SECT.



DEC 31 1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

167

ROOM IN ENVELOPE

12/15/70

airtel

1 -
1 -
1 -
1 -

To: SACS, Los Angeles (157-4054)
San Francisco (157-601)
WFO (Enclosure)

EX-103 REC 70

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) - 200/

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS

ReLAairtel to the Bureau 12/3/70, one copy of which is enclosed for WFO.

Los Angeles is authorized to send one letter to Eldridge Cleaver as set out in referenced airtel signed by a fictitious individual in Los Angeles. However, line 10 of the body of the letter should be updated to read "...at the Constitutional Convention two weeks ago, which..."

Bureau feels that Los Angeles' suggestions (1) that this counterintelligence project should not be limited to one letter and (2) that the failure of the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention (RPCC), be utilized as the most obvious illustration of Newton's inept leadership, have merit. However, a flood of such letters to Cleaver during a short period of time would cause him to suspect the authenticity of the letters. Therefore, Los Angeles will send one such letter at this time.

San Francisco and WFO immediately give the Bureau your observations on this matter with any suggestions as to the content of the short future letters.

WFO will furnish the Bureau a list of organizations, both black and white, that were represented at RPCC which can logically be utilized as the organizations of the fictitious signers of future letters. Office of origin of each organization must be indicated.

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Tolson
Sullivan
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Tavel
Walters
Soyars
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

(11)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-10-80 BY 1043

WEL

168

Airtel to Los Angeles, et al.
Re: Cointelpro - Black Extremists
100-448006)

The Bureau will then furnish instructions concerning additional letters.

San Francisco and WFO expedite submission of requested information to the Bureau.

Los Angeles will take precautions to insure that the mailing of the letter from Los Angeles cannot be traced to the Bureau. Recipients should be alert for any results from this operation.

NOTE:

Los Angeles suggested letters to Eldridge Cleaver in Algeria with fictitious signatures purported to be from representatives of organizations present at RPCC, Washington, D.C., 11/27-29/70, criticizing BPP Supreme Commander Huey P. Newton's lack of leadership at RPCC. Purpose is to provoke Cleaver into questioning Newton's leadership. Flood of such letters would not appear authentic and Los Angeles authorized to send one such letter at this time. Additional letters will follow. Cointelpro is code name recently adopted for counterintelligence program.

FBI

Date: 12/3/70

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIR MAIL - REGISTERED

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAG, LOS ANGELES (157-4054)(P)

RE: COINTELPRO
BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE -
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Re Los Angeles airtel to the Bureau dated 10/27/70,
San Francisco airtel to the Bureau dated 11/3/70, and
Bureau airtel to Los Angeles dated 11/13/70, entitled
"COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS, RACIAL MATTERS".

Following for San Francisco's consideration and
Bureau approval is a letter to ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, BPP
Minister of Information, from a fictitious individual in
Los Angeles, criticizing the lack of aggressiveness displayed
by BPP Supreme Commander HUEY NEWTON:

"Dear Eldridge,

"It's about time somebody told the
Supreme Commander to get himself together and
maybe you're the only one that can do it.
Huey lacks the aggressiveness to deal with the
present situation at the correct level. He talks
a whole lot of jive until he gets around people
like that honky dude [redacted] then he quietly
stands in the corner with his hat in his hand,
calling [redacted] 'Mistah Bob'. His act was the
same at the Constitutional Convention last week,
which in case you didn't hear was a righteous
failure, and the people know it."

1 - Bureau (RM)
2 - San Francisco (RM)
3 - Los Angeles
(1 - 100-70007)

REC 70

11 DEC 9 1970

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: _____

Sent _____

M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

Airtel to LA, SF, WFO 12/14/70

LA 157-4054

"These white mother country liberals don't relate to the Panther Party, but use the party to do their own thing. The struggle in Babylon needs your leadership badly but until you can, someone has to make Huey stop acting the fool in front of the people."

(signed)

Though it is desired that this letter provoke CLEAVER to openly question NEWTON's leadership, it is not felt any such one shot stimulus would be sufficient to produce that end. It is felt that distance and lack of personal contact between NEWTON and CLEAVER do offer a counterintelligence opportunity that should be probed.

In view of the BPP's unsuccessful attempt to convene a Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention (RPCC), it is suggested that each division which had individuals attend the RPCC write numerous letters to CLEAVER, criticizing NEWTON for his lack of leadership. It is felt that, if CLEAVER received a sufficient number of complaints regarding NEWTON, it might, if only temporarily, create dissension that later could be more fully exploited. The failure of the RPCC and the return of attendees to various parts of the country offers a useful opportunity to explore this possibility.

In this respect, it is suggested that the Bureau instruct appropriate divisions to promptly submit proposals to include mailings from smaller cities and towns, in order that exploitation of this situation might be maximized.

It is noted that, though critical comment from the Office of Origin regarding counterintelligence proposals is appropriate and desirable, San Francisco's observation in its referenced airtel that we are not "going to accomplish anything in this field by pointing out NEWTON's mistakes to him in order that he can improve his performances" suggests a misunderstanding of the program's intentions. We definitely will not accomplish anything in this field by either doing nothing or submitting those minimal

LA 157-4054

suggestions which, if approved, will probably be ignored by the BPP. Repeated one-shot anonymous letters are of dubious value as the BPP surely receives ample "hate mail" which influences nothing.

Los Angeles will continue to submit proposals intended to disrupt the BPP and all objective comment from San Francisco will be both appreciated and heeded.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 12/10/70

FROM : SAC, BUFFALO (157-503) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Buffalo let, 9/14/70, captioned as above.

During the period from mid-July to December 2, 1970, an Information Center of the Buffalo Chapter, National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) maintained premises at 299 East Ferry St., Buffalo, New York. Continuous and aggressive investigative techniques and counterintelligence programs have contributed to its apparent termination of operation as of 12/2/70, when it was evicted from its premises.

Tangible Results

Immediately following the establishment of the NCCF Information Center, racial and established sources were promptly alerted and requested to target this operation for intelligence information. These sources provided highly valuable intelligence-type information of a general nature pertaining to the organizational and business activities of this operation.

Buffalo Office initiated a substantial number of simple but effective counterintelligence measures directed at the NCCF Information Center, the type of which were not considered to be that requiring Bureau authority. These counterintelligence procedures were not conducted by the Buffalo Office but were implemented independently under careful direction of responsible informants and sources. At the outset of the counterintelligence efforts, black clergymen, community leaders, businessmen and political figures were contacted, at which time they were notified of the evil philosophies proclaimed by the Black Panther Party (BPP) and later these sources proved to be most effective in directing community support away from the NCCF.

Bureau (RM)
Buffalo

15 DEC 15 1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly



5010-108-02

DECLASSIFIED BY 6080
ON 4-2-77

2/23

173

Sources carried on an effective series of pretext telephone calls, which proved to be most effective in disrupting of NCCF affairs. In one instance, a source carried on a most impressive pretext call with [REDACTED] prominent East Coast BPP official.

Sources advised that a number of articles appeared in the publication, "Muhammad Speaks," which were unfavorable to the BPP and sources promptly furnished these publications anonymously to BPP Headquarters. In addition, articles appearing in the BPP newspaper, which were unfavorable to the Nation of Islam (NOI) were promptly furnished anonymously to Muhammad's Mosque No. 23 (MM#23), Buffalo, N. Y., by sources.

The "Katanga" newspaper, the name of which means "revolution," a publication of Youth Employment Placement Program (YEPP), a Buffalo core area employment service, in one edition promoted the NCCF program in Buffalo. A responsible source detected this matter and established that YEPP was a program administered by the Black Development Foundation of Buffalo, which in turn existed under the auspices of the Community Action Organization (CAO), the official poverty program agency of Erie County. Source suggested to the Director of the CAO that it perhaps would be embarrassing if a service of the CAO, a Federally-funded organization, was reported to be sponsoring a revolutionary activity. The CAO Director was grateful for the information and asserted his authority to good results. Subsequent "Katanga" publications contained no further reference to the NCCF and it is now reported that it has discontinued its publication.

One responsible source became closely acquainted with the owner of the premises at [REDACTED], and at the moment the NCCF Chapter violated building code regulations and missed rent payments, this source notified the owner of the likely peril of having NCCF occupants and actually urged their eviction, which was carried out to coincide with likely inclement weather. As a result, NCCF placed their property in storage and have not been successful in relocating.

In accordance with Bureau direction, appropriate dissemination has been made to logical sources of the article written by VICTOR RIESEL.

In connection with continued counterintelligence measures directed at the NCCF, appropriate recognition will be given to possible BPP underground activities. Every

BU 157-503 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

effort will be made to develop such information; however, it is considered that the Buffalo Chapter, NCCF, is not sufficiently sophisticated to provide likely underground prospects.

The only other Black Nationalist organization in the Buffalo Division is the NOI and adequate intelligence coverage through informants currently exists.

Buffalo will continue to explore possible avenues for counterintelligence techniques and when so developed, they will be submitted to the Bureau for Bureau authorization to utilize such techniques.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 12/10/70

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-1751) (P*)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Los Angeles letter to Bureau, 9/10/70.

1. Operations Under Consideration

Consideration is being given by the Los Angeles Office to the sending of an anonymous letter to ELDRIDGE CLEAVER criticizing HUEY NEWTON's lack of aggressiveness at the Black Panther press conference held in New York on 9/16/70 at which white radical [REDACTED] was permitted to dominate.

The Los Angeles Office continues to follow violations of the anti-riot and gun control laws by black nationalists for possible prosecution of these individuals under Federal and State statutes.

Telephone toll calls of various black nationalist leaders are continually reviewed under existing Bureau policy to ascertain what counterintelligence measures might be placed into effect.

2. Operations Being Effectuated

Reference is made to Los Angeles airtel to Bureau 9/22/70, setting forth that a letter had been directed to HUEY NEWTON from dissident and expelled Los Angeles BPP members aimed at undercutting previous leadership.

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Los Angeles
(1 - 157-4054)

REC 66

2 DEC 11 1970

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.



58 DEC 22 1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

176

LA 157-1751

On 10/7/70, GEORGE PUTNAM, TV News Commentator, KTTV, Channel 11, devoted five to six minutes of his news program to the Black Panther Party (BPP) charging that it was a threat to the security of the United States. PUTNAM described the BPP threats to kill policemen, to overthrow the Government, and exhibited photographs of various arms obtained from the BPP through police raids.

Interviews of suspected and past members of black nationalist groups continue in an effort to develop informants and to create distrust among the militants and to cause defection of some peripheral members.

3. Tangible Results

No information has been received from informants or other sources indicating any reaction to the counterintelligence programs now in effect or those which were executed in the past.

4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest

Information concerning the activities of the black nationalist groups is being furnished on a daily basis to the Intelligence and Criminal Conspiracy Divisions of the Los Angeles Police Department and the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Office Intelligence Division in the anticipation that such information might lead to the arrest of these militants.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. S. D. Brennan

FROM : G. C. Moore

SUBJECT: RACIAL CONFERENCE, OCTOBER 22-23, 1970
DUPLICATION SELECTED PORTIONS OF FILM
"THE BATTLE OF ALGIERS" USED BY
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
DATE: 10/30/70

1 - Mr. N. P. Callahan
1 - Mr. J. J. Casper
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Brennan, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

11-344-41

To obtain authority to have ten copies of selected portions of film "The Battle of Algiers" prepared commercially.

Black extremists are subjected to a torrent of propaganda calling for violent action against established authorities. Prime agitator in that regard is the Black Panther Party (BPP). A principal means used is extremist films. Recent vastly increased number of attacks and bombings by blacks against police undoubtedly due to such propaganda.

One film BPP utilizes extensively, "The Battle of Algiers, portrays battle of Algerian revolutionary group (National Liberation Front (NLF)) for independence of Algeria. Guerrilla warfare tactics and underground network utilized by the NLF explained in detail. Film shows police and military officers shot down, planting and exploding of bombs and machine gunning of citizens on crowded sidewalks by NLF terrorists.

The setting up of the BPP underground and attacks by black extremists on police indicate that many of the tactics portrayed in the film are being utilized by U. S. black extremists. Field supervisors who attended captioned conference were of unanimous opinion that showing the film to field Agent personnel would materially assist efforts of field to devise programs and methods to minimize black extremist assassinations and bombings. Recommended furnishing copies of the film to the field.

REC-51

Full version of the film lasts more than two hours. To obtain sufficient copies of film for each field office would cost approximately \$12,000. Such expenditure is out of the question. To bring expenditure down to a modest level and still give the field the benefit of the film, we have excerpted the portions of

(9)

11-5-70 109

CONTINUED - OVER

NOV 4

10-344-411

11-5-70 109/11/11/11

178

Memorandum G. C. Moore to Mr. C. D. Brennan
E: RACIAL CONFERENCE, OCTOBER 22-23, 1970
DUPLICATION SELECTED PORTIONS OF FILM
"THE BATTLE OF ALGIERS" USED BY
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

the film which are of primary interest to U. S. black extremists. This has permitted cutting out of major portions of the film and reducing its length to only 40 minutes. To further reduce costs, the film will be furnished to ten key field offices from where it will be circulated to surrounding field offices as needed. By this method we have cut the required expenditures from \$12,000 to a mere \$900, approximately. Racial Intelligence Section personnel edited the film.

: ACTION:

1. That authority be granted to obtain ten copies of the cut down version of the film in accordance with the foregoing.

2. If approved, Administrative Division will make necessary arrangements for duplication.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-443006)

DATE: 12/11/70

FROM : SAC, MOBILE (157-2578) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RM

Re Telet to BU, 12/4/70, concerning counterintelligence recommendations against the Nation of Islam (NOI) group at Montgomery, Ala.

In addition to the action recommended in telet it is believed that the NOI could be further disrupted through liaison with the [REDACTED]

Based upon information received from informant [REDACTED], it is felt that should [REDACTED] building as a meeting place for NOI discussion groups she would probably evict [REDACTED], who resides at that address.

Bureau authority is requested to take this action.

2-Bureau (RM)
2-Mobile
[REDACTED]

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF _____
DATE _____

REC-57

61 JAN 5 1971



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

180

UNITED STATES () ENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-14192) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS
(90-DAY PROGRESS LETTER)

DATE: 12/4/70

Re San Diego letter to the Bureau 9/10/70.

I. OPERATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

None. See Section IV.

II. OPERATIONS BEING EFFECTED

San Diego teletype to the Bureau 11/16/70, under the caption ELACK PANTHER PARTY, advised that [REDACTED] had furnished information that HUEY P. NEWTON was being jointly sponsored by the Black Student Union and associated student body at the University of California at San Diego as a guest speaker on 11/22/70.

[REDACTED] advised that they were going to attempt to make a recording of this speech. [REDACTED] planned to cover the speech with his secret tape recorder and Bureau permission was requested to allow informant to record speech, and Bureau permission was also requested for San Diego to contact trusted newspaper sources to suggest editorial in local papers regarding source of funds for the NEWTON appearance.

Bureau teletype to San Diego 11/17/70, denied permission for San Diego to have informant use concealed recording device, but requested we obtain [REDACTED]

REC-1

(2) - Bureau (AM) (REGISTERED)
2 - San Diego

DEC 8 1970

(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

RECEIVED
FBI
DEC 11 1970

5 DEC 16 1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

181

Bureau authority was granted to contact trusted newspaper source and furnish public source background regarding the Black Panther Party (BPP) and advise them of the scheduled appearance of HUEY NEWTON and the amount of money he was to receive for the appearance. Arrangements were made to effect this action; however, the appearance of NEWTON was cancelled.

In the event NEWTON does appear it is anticipated that San Diego will attempt to use the same type of action against him as proposed above.

III. TANGIBLE RESULTS

[REDACTED] furnished information regarding criminal activities of BPP member [REDACTED]. This information was furnished to the San Diego Police Department and was of value in obtaining a warrant for his arrest. He was convicted in Superior Court and on 10/16/70 was sentenced on two charges of armed robbery for which he has to serve from five years to life on each charge, which will be served concurrently.

IV. DEVELOPMENTS OF COUNTERINTELLIGENCE INTEREST

The National Involvement Association (NIA), formerly known as US, Incorporated, San Diego, is no longer affiliated with the US group under the leadership of RON KARENGA of Los Angeles. There is considerable dissension within the NIA and leadership has been challenged and they are undecided as to what type of black militant organization they will be.

The Nation Of Islam (NOI) is in a state of dissension. A dissident segment of the organization has separated and is meeting at the home of one of the members. This group comprises two-thirds of the present membership of the NOI in San Diego and both groups are writing headquarters in Chicago; one group attempting to obtain new leadership and the other with maintaining the leadership of Minister [REDACTED]

The BPP has not been in existence in San Diego since January, 1970. In view of the above, no operations under Section J are under consideration at this time inasmuch as local organizations are doing an effective job of destroying themselves.

ROYALTY TELETYPE

12/7/70

CODE

TELETYPE

NITEL

TO SACS SAN FRANCISCO
NEW YORK

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-448006)

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS, RACIAL MATTERS

RENYTEL DECEMBER FOUR LAST ENTITLED "BLACK PANTHER PARTY,
RACIAL MATTERS," RELATING TO DISCIPLINARY ACTION BEING TAKEN
AGAINST [REDACTED] AND REASSIGNMENT OF [REDACTED] BY BPP.

SAN FRANCISCO AND NEW YORK REFER TO BUAIRTEL DECEMBER
THREE LAST, ABOVE CAPTION, AND SUBMIT APPROPRIATE COUNTER-
INTELLIGENCE RECOMMENDATIONS AIMED AT FURTHER DISRUPTION OF
BPP LEADERSHIP.

HANDLE RECOMMENDATIONS PROMPTLY BY AIRTEL.

(6)

NOTE:

We previously received information that BPP leaders Huey P. Newton and David Hilliard were in a rage at complete failure of the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention (RPCC). Blame for failure appears to have been placed on [REDACTED]. Buairtel 12/3/70 instructed San Francisco, New York and other offices to analyze results of informant reports on RPCC and to submit counterintelligence recommendations for disrupting BPP leadership and organization as well as relationship between Panthers and other organizations which participated in RPCC.

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

97 DEC 16 1970

Tolson
Sullivan
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Tavel
Walters
Soyars
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

184 me

105-156006-34

December 9, 1970

Airtel

1 - [REDACTED]

To: SACs, New York (100-161140)
SAC, WFO (107-1292) (Enclosures - 2)
From: Director, FBI (100-448006) — 2117

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS

Enclosed for WFO are New York airtel dated 12/3/70 and its enclosure, a news article from the 11/30/70 edition of "The New York Times."

WFO review editions of Howard University student publication "The Hilltop" to locate series of anti-Black Panther Party articles reportedly being written by Frantz Tagoe, described in the enclosed news article as "a Ghanaian writer." WFO review articles and submit articles with your comments regarding recommendations in referenced New York airtel.

New York in future correspondence concerning captioned program utilize above caption as instructed in Bulet dated 10/30/70. New York score form errors for personnel responsible.

(6)

NOTE: Referenced New York airtel noted a student publication of Howard University is carrying anti-Black Panther Party articles and suggests the Bureau obtain copies of these articles and furnish them to officers having an interest in captioned program with an analysis. WFO being requested to obtain copies of the articles if possible and submit comments regarding recommendations in referenced New York airtel.

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

97 DEC 16 1970

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/16/01 BY 60322/UC/LP

185640

F B I

Date: 12/3/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
 FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-161140) (P)
 SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
 BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
 RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

ReNYlet to Bureau, 12/1/70.

In the 11/30/70, edition of "The New York Times" an article entitled "Panther Party Failure - Problems at Convention in Washington Reflect Philosophical Rift Among Blacks" written by Times Correspondent, PAUL DELANEY, of which a xerox copy is enclosed, indicates that "The Hilltop", a student publication at Howard University, Washington, D.C. is carrying a series of anti-BPP articles written by one FRANTZ TAGOE, who is described as "a Ghanaian writer".

The NYO feels that if a review and analysis of the above described articles appearing in the Howard University student publication could be made by the Bureau and those offices who have an interest in Counterintelligence Program - Black Extremist matters, it would shed a valuable insight into the tone and temper of anti-BPP writings.

It is felt by NY that one of the most difficult problems faced in preparing anti-BPP writings as part of the Counterintelligence Program is that of obtaining the proper point of view as the author of such articles. It would be a great aid to the NYO to be able to refer to anti-BPP articles which have been published and apparently received with some enthusiasm.

Therefore, NY recommends that the Bureau obtain and distribute to those interested offices copies of the aforementioned articles by FRANTZ TAGOE along with whatever recommendations or comments the Bureau deems necessary.

2 - Bureau (Encls. 1) (RM)
 1 - New York (43)

(4)

1 - Supv. #43

REC-32
 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 11/15/01 BY 60322
 186

Approved: _____
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

12/3/70

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-161140) (P)
SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

ReNYlet to Bureau, 12/1/70.

In the 11/30/70, edition of "The New York Times" an article entitled "Panther Party Failure - Problems at Convention in Washington Reflect Philosophical Rift Among Blacks" written by Times Correspondent, PAUL DELANEY, of which a xerox copy is enclosed, indicates that "The Hilltop", a student publication at Howard University, Washington, D.C. is carrying a series of anti-BPP articles written by one FRANTZ TAGOE, who is described as "a Ghanaian writer".

The NYO feels that if a review and analysis of the above described articles appearing in the Howard University student publication could be made by the Bureau and those offices who have an interest in Counterintelligence Program - Black Extremist matters, it would shed a valuable insight into the tone and temper of anti-BPP writings.

It is felt by NY that one of the most difficult problems faced in preparing anti-BPP writings as part of the Counterintelligence Program is that of obtaining the proper point of view as the author of such articles. It would be a great aid to the NYO to be able to refer to anti-BPP articles which have been published and apparently received with some enthusiasm.

Therefore, NY recommends that the Bureau obtain and distribute to those interested offices copies of the aforementioned articles by FRANTZ TAGOE along with whatever recommendations or comments the Bureau deems necessary.

2- Bureau (Encls. 1) (RM)

1- New York (43)

(4)

1- Supv. #43

187

Problems at Convention in Washington Reflect Philosophical Rift Among Blacks

11-30-70

By PAUL DELANEY

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 29 — The Black Panther party's initial meeting to write a constitution for revolutionary people drew 6,000 persons, half of them young whites, in Philadelphia over the Labor Day weekend.

The Panthers' meeting that was scheduled here this weekend to complete work on the proposed document, Analysis which would give blacks a bigger role in government, was a complete flop.

There are numerous reasons why the Panthers could conduct a fairly successful convention in Philadelphia, which is 35 per cent black, but fail in Washington, where blacks make up 75 per cent of the population.

The convention here never really got started. The party spent Friday registering those of the 4,000 participants, mostly white, who wanted to pay the \$10 fee, but there were strong and persistent reports that the meeting would be called off because a meeting hall had not been found.

The convention here was the antithesis of the Philadelphia convention, where blacks and whites came together and departed in what seemed to be a spirit of "brotherly love."

This weekend, some delegates started leaving almost immediately, and many of the young whites who stayed through last night left angry and disappointed—at the disorganization of the Panthers, who many felt should have solved the logistics problems; at the disintegration of the meeting, which some felt should have proceeded; and at Howard University, which had denied the convention the use of its facilities when the Panthers failed to pay \$7,300 expenses in advance.

The problems of the Panthers here highlighted the internal philosophical struggle going on in the nation's black community. That struggle pits integrationists and liberationists, such as the Panthers, against black nationalists and pan-Africanists, including some black intellectuals and the Black Muslims.

Integrationists and liberationists would achieve black development with or without the aid of whites, while black nationalists and pan-Africanists would exclude whites from black institutions.

The Panthers were not in friendly territory here. Wash-

ington is regarded as having the most middle-class oriented blacks of any city. It has no heavy industry, and the Federal Government is the biggest employer. Although blacks tend to be relegated to the lowest paying positions, most have a basically middle-class outlook.

In addition, Howard University, the largest black university in the country, is the alma mater of Stokely Carmichael, who broke with the Panthers last year, terming the party "dogmatic" and some of its tactics "dishonest and vicious."

The ideological differences are deep. While many blacks, especially the intellectuals, have turned inward and called for the development of the black community by blacks, the Panthers have allied themselves with white radical organizations.

However, the ideological clash apparently would not have interfered with the university's permitting the Panthers on campus. The student government association at Howard voted last month to approve the Panthers' request.

But the agitation between students and the party continues. In a letter to The Hilltop, the campus newspaper at Howard, several students accused Huey P. Newton, the Panther minister of defense, of canceling three speaking engagements at the school and criticized him for Panther alliances and the break with Mr. Carmichael.

Newton referred to the differences in a speech last night. He maintained that the Panthers had a you-cannot-go-home-again attitude about Africa, and said that the party was internationalist rather than nationalist.

The Hilltop is carrying a series of anti-Panther articles by Frantz Tagoe, a Ghanaian writer.

Regarding Newton's internationalist thesis, Mr. Tagoe wrote:

"This is abstract nonsense to say the least. Anyone who talks about Marxism-Leninism without having a nation is like a tree without roots."

The two ideologies could clash head-on here. Challenged by the difficulties experienced this weekend, Newton said a cadre of Panthers would go into the black community to organize and mobilize, especially against the "ruling class" at Howard. Meanwhile, the university's students already are trying to form closer ties to the black community.

188
117

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 12/2/70

FROM : SAC, JACKSON (100-980) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO -
BLACK EXTREMISTS
RM

Re Jackson quarterly progress letter to Bureau,
9/2/70; Bureau letter to Albany, 10/30/70.

QUARTERLY PROGRESS LETTER

I. OPERATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

Jackson Division has been analyzing the program and activities of Muhammad's Mosque, Jackson, Mississippi, a Nation of Islam group; this group is currently rebuilding and enlarging an old, small house used in the past for their meetings at 1208 Jones Street, Jackson.

Upon completion of this construction, the groups plans to serve hot meals at weekly mosque meetings. Construction materials being used by the group in rebuilding the house appear to be of a poor quality, and all of the work on the building is being done by mosque members who are amateurs in the construction field. In order to serve food in this building as they plan, the building will require a health, building, and fire department inspection of the premises as well as health cards for all food handlers. It is doubtful that the mosque leaders will on their own seek approval of these officials when the building is completed. Jackson Division is following developments regarding the structure being rebuilt, and as soon as the building is completed and hot meals are served at weekly meetings, Jackson Division plans to obtain Bureau authority for approval for a counterintelligence

2 - Bureau (RM)

2 - Jackson

(4)

REC-32

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE



92 DEC 10 1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

measure involving the dissemination of information regarding the group's food activities to appropriate city officials in the health, building, and fire departments.

II. OPERATIONS BEING EFFECTED

III. TANGIBLE RESULTS

Since March, 1968, the Republic of New Africa (RNA) has been attempting to start a separate black nation in five southern states, starting with Mississippi. In this regard, the RNA has been trying to buy and lease land in Mississippi in the Jackson Division on several past occasions. (Counter-intelligence measures has been able to abort all RNA efforts to obtain land in Mississippi.)

In late July, 1970, RICHARD HENRY, aka Brother Imari, leader of the RNA, came to Jackson, Mississippi, accompanied by many out-of-state supporters to hold a national RNA meeting "on the land of the nation in Mississippi". This conference was disruptive and ineffective due to Jackson Division, Bureau-approved counterintelligence measures.

In mid-September, 1970, Brother IMARI and a few close associates of his came to look at land which was for sale in rural Hinds County, Mississippi, near Jackson; this land was owned by a Negro male who was retiring and owned over 560 acres. Jackson informants advised Bureau Agents of developments regarding this land and the fact that the owner of the land, [REDACTED], N/M, had advised Brother IMARI he will lease or sell him ten to twenty acres. RNA leaders, including Brother IMARI, were delighted over this land purchase or leasing prospect. Jackson informants were directed by contacting Agents to approach [REDACTED] privately and indicate to him that his selling land to Brother IMARI would not be a wise endeavor. Additionally, on 10/9/70, [REDACTED] was interviewed by Bureau Agents and advised of the true nature and violence potential of the RNA and its leaders. The interview lasted 1½ hours; following the interview, [REDACTED] indicated he would reconsider whether he would sell or lease any land to the RNA; on 10/21/70, Bureau Agents interviewed [REDACTED] who was assisting the

N 100-980

RNA in their dealings with [REDACTED] regarding the land. The true nature and violence potential of the RNA and its leaders was explained to [REDACTED]

As a result of the above counterintelligence efforts, the land which the RNA had almost finalized plans regarding purchasing or leasing in rural Hinds County, Miss., has not been sold or leased to them. Jackson has maintained contact with [REDACTED] and he has advised he has no plans to lease or sell any land to the RNA in the immediate future. There have been no recent visits by top officials of the RNA to Mississippi regarding the land, it being noted they made several visits in September, 1970, when their prospects for the land purchase or leasing was good.

As a result of the above, intensive efforts of the RNA to obtain land in Mississippi over the past two and one-half years are still totally unsuccessful.

IV. OTHER DEVELOPMENTS OF COUNTERINTELLIGENCE INTEREST

Jackson Division has [REDACTED] who are members of Muhammad's Mosque, Jackson, Mississippi; in view of this extensive coverage, Jackson Division has been in a position to be fully aware of all pertinent activities of this Nation of Islam group.

During annual law enforcement conference in October, 1970, as well as during all police schools involving bombing matters and related topics, Jackson Division has been advising officers of public-type information regarding the main Black Nationalist extremist groups showing their true nature and propensity for violence; in the past three months, over 700 Mississippi lawmen have been advised of pertinent information regarding the Black Panther Party and related groups, and this program is continuing in future schools.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 12/7/70

FROM : SAC, CINCINNATI (100-16921) (P*)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
(VISUAL AIDS)

RM

ReBuairtel, 4/24/69.

The Cincinnati Division has no photographs of scenes of racial violence or related matters.

Agents of this Division have been notified to submit to the Bureau on a continuing basis, any such photographs in this category.

2-Bureau (RM)
2-Cincinnati

EX-113

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.



DEC 22 1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

192

12/9/70

Airtel

1 - New York Guidance

1 - [REDACTED]

1 - [REDACTED]

To: SAC, New York (100-161140)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006)

COINTELPRO
BLACK EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS

ReNYlet and LHM dated 11/19/70 captioned
"Robert Leonard Boy, RM - BPP."

Data set forth in referenced LHM provides excellent
entree for a counterintelligence measure directed against
subject.

New York promptly submit recommendations in that
regard.

NOTE:

[REDACTED] is a coleader of the violence-prone
Black Panther Party (BPP) in New York City. Referenced
LHM sets forth information indicating subject lacks
leadership qualities, spends most of his day drinking
wine, and having sexual relations with female BPP members.



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

193

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : MR. C. D. BRENNAN

FROM : MR. G. C. MOORE

SUBJECT: RACIAL CONFERENCE, OCTOBER 22-23, 1970,
RECOMMENDATION TO MODIFY INSTRUCTIONS
CONCERNING RECORDINGS OF BLACK AND NEW
LEFT PUBLIC APPEARANCES

- 1 - Mr. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. A. Rosen
- DATE: November 2, 1970
- 1 - Mr. J. J. Casper
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - [REDACTED]

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Brennan, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

To obtain authority to send attached airtel to all field offices concerning the recording of public appearances of black and New Left extremists.

Memorandum G. C. Moore to Mr. W. C. Sullivan 5/21/69 obtained authority to instruct the field to expand the use of concealed recording devices in covering such appearances. Since that time, the field has reported a large number of such appearances and Special Agents in Charge (SACs) have always demonstrated sound judgment in affording such coverage under secure conditions. On a number of occasions, because of extremely short notice concerning appearances, there has been insufficient time to obtain Bureau authority. Because of this, valuable evidentiary material has been lost. Recordings are the best possible evidence of extremist statements actually made in the event of prosecutive action. This matter was discussed in depth at captioned conference with field supervisors. It was the unanimous recommendation of those supervisors that present instructions concerning such recordings should be modified in one respect to allow SACs to arrange on their own initiative for recordings.

The recommendation has merit. SACs have uniformly demonstrated excellent judgment in making such recordings to date and should be given authority to record public appearances by black and New Left extremists whenever full security can be assured except when such appearances are at educational institutions. When at educational institutions, the field must still obtain prior Bureau authority. This will give the field necessary flexibility to record public appearances even when advance notice is extremely short. The modification will in no way supersede or conflict with authority to record statements given in individual cases under investigation such as the Antiriot Law investigations which arose out of violence at the 8/68 Democratic National Convention on subjects known as the "Chicago 7" and their defense attorneys William M. Kunstler and Leonard I. Weinglass.

Enclosure 10-6 11-5-70
(9)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-11-70 BY [REDACTED]
CONTINUED - OVER

DEC 8 1970

194

Memorandum to Mr. C. D. Brennan

RE: RACIAL CONFERENCE, OCTOBER 22-23, 1970,
RECOMMENDATION TO MODIFY INSTRUCTIONS CONCERNING
RECORDINGS OF BLACK AND NEW LEFT PUBLIC APPEARANCES

ACTION:

If approved, attached airtel will be sent to
all field offices in accordance with the above. No Manual
changes are necessary.

OK
JL
JPM
JL

WBS

FBI

Date: 12/1/70

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____

rtel

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-443006)

FROM: SAC, MINNEAPOLIS (157-438) F

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Minneapolis letter to Bureau, dated 8/20/70.

Since referenced letter there has been no racially oriented violence in the Minneapolis Division. There is currently no Black Panther Party Chapter in the Minneapolis Division; however, a Black Panther Party newspaper is distributed in the Minneapolis area, and on 11/5/70, Special Agents of the FBI observed that a sign was erected at 414 East 38th Street, which reads "Kathleen Cleaver Community Information Center."

Information has been developed that the Black Panther Party newspaper has been distributed from this address, and that the principal organizer of the center has been [REDACTED] who is also responsible for distributing the Black Panther Party newspaper.

The above sign has since been removed from the premises of 414 East 38th Street, and a source report that there has been no recent activity at this center. It is noted that [REDACTED] has been arrested for parole violation and is currently incarcerated in Stillwater Prison.

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Minneapolis

EX-115

REC-45

DEC 5 1970

DEC 11 1970

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent: _____

M

Per _____

196

[REDACTED] in a newspaper interview, and [REDACTED] Black Panther Party Minister of Culture, who recently spoke in the Minneapolis area, also in a newspaper interview, denied that the Kathleen Cleaver Community Information Center is affiliated with the Black Panther Party and denied that the Black Panther Party Chapter exists in the Minneapolis area.

The Minneapolis Division is in the process of developing sources to penetrate the Kathleen Cleaver Community Information Center should this group continue in existence and will remain alert for counterintelligence measures to combat this group.

It will be noted that since referenced letter, elements of a hoodlum-type Negro gang in St. Paul planned to hijack a plane and kidnap local officials but were thwarted by combined efforts of Minneapolis and St. Paul police agencies, Special Agents of the FBI and information from sources thereof.

A Confidential Racial Source of this office was instrumental in discontinuing the publishing of a black militant-type newspaper after only a couple issues this past summer.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 12/7/70

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (157-2209) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO-BLACK EXTREMISTS
RM

ReBuairtel to Alexandria dated 11/10/70, captioned
"COUNTERINTELLIGENCE MEASURES, BLACK PANTHER PARTY; RACIAL
MATTERS".

Chicago has completed anonymous mailings of
reproductions enclosed with referenced airtel.

The Bureau and interested offices will be advised
of reproductions enclosed with referenced airtel.

The Bureau and interested offices will be advised
of any positive results ascertained as a result of this action. *A*

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - San Francisco (157-601) (Info) (RM)
- 1 - Chicago

(4)

EX-115

REC-71

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

DEC 9 1970

RACIAL INT SECT.

198



5010-108-01

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan